०२७१।५।९

Documentation & Information Division
CNAS
Kirtipur

प्राचीन नेपाल

पुरातत्त्व विभागको द्वैमासिक मुखपत्र

ANCIENT NEPAL

Journal of the Department of Archaeology

संख्या १३७
श्रावण २०५१

Number 137
August, 1994

सम्पादक मण्डल
प्रधान सम्पादक
खड्गमान श्रेष्ठ
सम्पादकहरु
तारानन्द मिश्र
श्रीमती ऋद्धि प्रधान

Editorial Board
Chief Editor
Khadga Man Shrestha
Editors
Tarananda Mishra
Mrs. Riddhi Pradhan

प्रकाशक
श्री ५ को सरकार
शिक्षा, संस्कृति तथा समाज कल्याण मन्त्रालय
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
काठमाडौं, नेपाल ।

Published by
His Majesty's Government
Ministry of Education, Culture & Social Welfare
The Department of Archaeology
Kathmandu, Nepal

प्राप्ति स्थानः
साझा प्रकाशन
पुलचोक, ललितपुर

To be had of :
Sajha Prakashan
Pulchok, Lalitpur

मूल्य रु.

Price Rs.

Printed at : Nepal Times Press, Maruhity, Kathmandu, Nepal.
Phone No: 2-14615, 22-34-34

Documentation & Information Division
CNAS
Kirtipur

प्राचीन नेपाल

ANCIENT NEPAL

संख्या १३७
श्रावण २०५१

Number 137
August, 1994

सम्पादक मण्डल
प्रधान सम्पादक
खड्गमान श्रेष्ठ
सम्पादकहरु
तारानन्द मिश्र
श्रीमती ऋद्धि प्रधान

Editorial Board
Chief Editor
Khadga Man Shrestha
Editors
Tarananda Mishra
Mrs. Riddhi Pradhan

Contents

Page

1. A Few Words about Investigations on the History of the Muktinath Valley
   - by *Khadga Man Shrestha* 1-8

2. Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas
   - by *Dr. Dieter Schuh* 9-92

3. The pre-historic settlement of Mustang - First results of the 1993 archaelogical investigations in cave-systems and connected ruined sites
   - by *Angela Simons, Werner Schon and Sukra Sagar Shrestha* 93-130

A Few Words on the History of the Muktinath Valley

- *Khadga Man Shrestha*

Literary and archaeological sources are supplementary and complementary of each other. Informations derived from the literary sources are confirmed by archaeological evidences. Literary sources like chronicles, travel narratives, oral narratives in many cases are mostly fictitious. They need to be verified on the basis of scientific investigations. The literary sources also include agreements between the states, decrees of the rulers, royal charters with royal seals, copper plates, royal receipts, royal legal documents, autobiographies and other documents etc. These archieval sources authentically prove the historical events. For exploration of these evidences, documentation and analysis of these documents, and interpretations of the contents special investigation is needed. Comparative study of the literary sources also reveal the truth. Thoughts should be given to distinguish historical truths from fairy tales. Myths and legends sometimes are treated as historical facts. Special attention is needed in revealing the truth.

This special issue deals with research reports of the Nepalese archaeologists and the German researchers on the history and archaeology of the Muktinath Valley. Prof. Dr. Dieter Schuh in collaboration with Wandu Lama, Monika Kretschmar and M. L. Karmacharya writes the first part of the report entitled "Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas". It is based on literary sources specially the archieval sources. The author has given his thoughts on the anthropological and political history of the Muktinath Valley. The report deals with his study relating to the inhabitants of the Valley from the 13th to the 17th centuries. The author has analytically studied their political history. So in his report the author has tried to show the ethnic nature of the inhabitants of the Valley.

The Muktinath Valley is a holy place of pilgrimage both for the Hindus and the Buddhists. The author has extensively studied the accounts of many scholars about the Muktinath Valley. His comparative study has thrown more light to trace the history of the area. His scientific approach has set a model for the future researchers. He says that the section of the Valley of the *rJoṅ* river extending downstream from Muktinath to Kag has been mentioned in local names as *Jar-rjoṅ-yul-drug*. Briefly, it is referred as *rJoṅ*. The ruined castle of *Rab-rgyal-rce* was originally the seat of the king of the whole valley. The valley is fertile. Its inhabitants were the subject to the town of Dzar and, its kings. To give an account of the history of the Valley the author quotes the word, *Se-rib. Se-*

rib was a geographically distinct political and cultural unit situated adjacent to *Glo*. It is guessed that it included the districts in the upper Kali Gandaki Valley. This regional term was used until around the end of the seventeenth century. Today it is apparently forgotten and appears to live on only in name, *Se-skad*. The author says that the name, *Se-skad,* is used as an expression for the villages situated north of Kagbeni, Tshug, Taye, Tsele, Gyaga and Te. The word *se-rib* is interpreted as an abbreviation of *se-rib-kyi-skad*. (*serib* language)

The author says that the inhabitants of the Muktinath Valley speaking Tibetan dialects refer to Thakali and Manangi as *se-skad*. They identify their own language as *bod-skad*. Se-skad speakers also refer to Gurung and Tamang languages as *Se-skad*. The author mentions that with the aid of the materials, investigated so far the area originally occupied by *Serib* cannot be identified but it has been located adjacent to *Glo* and in the thirteenth century it included the districts near to Lubra. The author mentions that a table presented by Jackson, representing 246 students who in the 13th century assembled around a *Bon* priest (Tibetan priest) in *Serib* makes it clear that at that time *Se-rib* certainly embraced a wider area than that made up by the five villages in which *Se-skad* is today spoken.

To answer the question who were the inhabitants of *Se-rib* the author says that *Se-skad* speakers of the villages situated north of Kagbeni mention that their language is not a Tibetan dialect. The author says that *Se-skad* is classified as Tibeto-Burmese language and does not belong to the sub-group of Tibetan languages. *Se-skad* speaking people say that their language is much closer to Manangi than to Thakali.

The author shows that the inhabitants of *Se-rib* belong to non-Tibetan members of a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group. By quoting *Glo-bo-mkhan-c'hen*, a great scholar of Tibetan origin of the 15th century, descended from the ruling family of *Glo*, the author states that the inhabitants of *Se-rib* were of Indian origin and were descended from the Pandavas. On the basis of former geographical size of *Serib* the author says that it is not clear whether the Muktinath Valley belonged to *Serib*. It has been observed that the present inhabitants of the six villages of the Muktinath Valley speak a Tibetan dialect. The same applies to the inhabitants of Kagbeni and a few other villages situated on the - looking from the Muktinath Valley - opposite side of the Kali Gandaki river. The Tibetan speakers of these settlements were considered Bhotias. Their architectural and dresses style, their marriage customs and their family and village organisations looked like Tibetan. However, they are surrounded by non-Tibetan settlements. To the north of *Glo* there are five *Se-skad* speaking villages. To the south lies Thakali villages and to the east beyond the Thorang pass the Manangi settlement is located.

Prof. Dr. Dieter Schuh has critically analysed several narratives which are regarded as the sources of the history of the Muktinath Valley. They are the orally related literature found in this area. The narratives so far investigated by Vinding, Ramble and Shuler are not presentable. Vinding's work about the history of Garab Dzong situated near Thini are not the translations of the original narratives but rather subjective interpretations by the author.

To begin with, the author makes mention of two chronicle-like narratives. They refer to the clan history of an aristocratic family living today in Dzar. They are said to have formerly ruled over the Muktinath Valley. The aristocratic family bore the clan name Tsampal Thukci [Jampal Thogye (Schuler) and Jampal Thogyal (Rambler)]. The narratives give an account of the history of the clan. Their history is closely bound up with the establishing of the castles of Dzong and Dzar. The other narrative comes from Sonam Palkye of Dzong. Both the narratives were recorded in 1983. The original texts in Tibetan language and the translated version in English are included in this

report. These narratives are oral literature. They need interpretation, editing, translating for proper assessment. They illustrate events, name of the sites where the event took place. They need comparative study to confirm the events. Critical examination of the narratives take us to the literary elements revealing the historical statements.

The report mentions that the differences between the two narratives lies in the fact that the narrators and listeners generally have actual historical and geographical links with the characters involved and the places mentioned. The author further says that it is not clear in both that the family whose history is being told is not just any family. But on the contrary, one narrative is based on the still well known family of *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal*. The author makes a note that both the edited and translated narratives represent the clan history of the most aristocratic families of the Valley. While interpreting them he states that the history of this clan told here is directly related to its special status, the ideology of which is reaffirmed through the story.

While examining both the stories the author quotes the first one V1. According to it, the founders of the Tsampal Thukci family were two brothers of the Hindu Thakuri caste who migrated from Jumla to Mustang, where they worked for the King of Mustang. They established the castle of Kag and Dzong.

According to the second one V2, the castle of Dzong was built by Pultun Thowo cewo. No indication can be found of the origin of the founders of the castle. Comparing this evidence with the results of our historical investigations elaborated upon later it appears that the origin of the family to be found in V1 is a later adulteration. The founder of the castles of Kag and Dzar descended from a noble family from Tibet. His name is mentioned in historical sources as *Khro-Skyabs*. The historically untenable tracing of the Tsample Thukci family to Hindu Thakuri predecessors finds a parallel with the Thakalis.

According to Furer Haimendorf's report, the myth of the origin of the Thakalis is linked with Sinja, the capital of the Malla dynasty and subsequently the kings of Jumla. These myths state explicitly that the ancestors of the four Thakali clans lived at one time at Sinja. In this regard Dr. D. Schuh remarks that "with the integration of the Muktinath Valley into the sphere of influence of Jumla and its later inclusion in the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal, its inhabitants, descended from an old west - Tibetan aristocratic lineage, became slowly subordinate to a more highly ranked caste of Hindu origin. A corresponding alteration of the clan's history was inevitable". Thus it is clear that myths only should not be treated as the source of history of any time.

Dr. D. Schuh has also mentioned one other narrative, i.e. V3 which he got in 1985 from *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal*. The narrator tells his family story in Lhasa dialect. The content of this version does not differ significantly from the version recorded by M. Kretschmar V1.

One other narrative available to the author from *Chi-med-rdo-rje* from Dzarkot, i.e., V4. That narrative includes the incidents that led to the immigration of the Thakali clan from Dzong to Dzar and those that led to the intervention of the King of Jumla and the resulting military conflicts. These versions agree with V1.

Comparing these narratives we find similar as well as different versions about the same incident. In V4 the names of the two brothers who came from Jumla were mentioned as Bir phumpa and Tshe-wang phumpa. It was also mentioned that the King of Lo decides to separate the two brothers, because together they are too powerful. He has the remaining brother murdered by an arrow. The corpse of the victim is kept in salt to preserve it until his brother's return. According to V2, the men of the castle of Dzong had the clan name Pultun Hritar. It refers that the Thukci brother left the service of the King of Lo after seven years because the King treated him so badly.

According to the author, V2 mentions that the other brother returns with the bride, to learn from the King that his brother has died due to illness. His second wife, who lives in Lo, tells him the truth regarding the cause of his brother's death, and warns him against staying in Lo. He decides to leave the country but the King of Lo persuades him to stay. V4 mentions that the returnee finds his brother's preserved body and decides to feed it to the birds. As the corpse is being chopped up, he notices that his brother has been murdered with an arrow. The author tries to derive the informations of the incident related to the clan history comparing the versions of these narratives. He tries to confirm this incident by comparing them. Moreover, these narratives reflect the cultural features of the ethnic clan. These features show the distinctive features of the clan. The author tries to arrive at genuine established historical facts by historical and critical assessment of the narratives of the type under discussion.

From the accounts of V1, V3 and V4 the author draws the following skeleton plot. "Two ancestors of a *dPon-po* family now living in the Muktinath Valley are subjects of the King of Lo (Lo Manthang), and work for him. The King's ministers, like the King himself, are afraid of the powers of these two brothers. One of the two is sent to Ladakh. In his absence, the one who stayed at home is murdered. The surviving brother flies to Jumla where he enters into an alliance with the King of Jumla in order to revenge the King of Lo. This results in the separation from Lo of the Muktinath Valley, to become ruled by descendants of the surviving brother under the sovereignty of Jumla. At a later date, the *dPonpa* moves from Dzong to Dzar.

Moreover, the author shows that the foundation of the castles of the Muktinath Valley, occurred in the second half of the 16th century, the dispute between *rJoṅ-dpon* of the Muktinath Valley and the King of Lo and separation of the Muktinath Valley from Lo and its integration into Jumla, dates from the 17th century.

So on the basis of the narratives no historical sequence can be established. To quote the author, "Reliable information regarding the history of the Muktinath Valley cannot be obtained from them alone." To conclude, the author says that these comparable orally handed down stories are the only historical sources and exclusive use of these materials would produce very inadequate results.

In his report the author also makes mention of the history of Muktinath in the 18th and the 19th centuries. In this connection he makes the survey of the political situation and the downfall of the rulers of the Muktinath Valley in the 19th century. The author mentions that the castles of Kagbeni, Dzar and Dzong are located at the points of geographically strategic importance. They do not only control the Muktinath Valley but also important roads into Manang and Mustang. Kagbeni is the main entrance to southern Mustang. The ruins of the castles show bygone grandeur and royal splendeur. With the decline of the earliest economic prosperity and military might the former rulers of the valley have sold the ruins of the castle. So it is clear that the ruin of the castles has resulted not from military action but from economic problem. Large sections of Kagbeni castles are still well preserved. If it is not preserved, it will be threatened by earthquakes.

The author says that the Muktinath Valley was divided into upper and lower valley. The upper valley contained six villages i.e. Khyinga, Phutra, Dzong, Dzar, Phurang and Chonkor. The lower valley included the valley floor and the terraces of the river Dzong down from Khyinga to Kagbeni. The seven settlements of the Muktinath Valley was referred to as Baragaon which means twelve villages lying on the right bank of the Kali Gandaki. It included Tiri, Phalak, Dankar-dzong, Pangling and Sangdag. Baragaon was originally an administrative name probably used by Rana Government in the 19th century.

Two documents of the time of Rana Bahadur Shah dated 1790 and 1792 mention Topal Bista of

Dzarkot as the ruler of Barhagau besides other areas. After the conquest of Jumlā by Gorkha in 1789 south Mustang fell under Gorkha rule. According to the documents, Topal Bista of Jharkot (Dzar) was given the district of Barhagau (Baragaon), Nar, Manang as free estate (birta) and granted the right to impose road and commercial taxes traditionally imposed in Kag. It is also noted that the term Baragaon was used up to the first half of the 19th century. It also included other territory besides the twelve settlements. On the basis of other documents it is evident that the five *Se-skad* speaking villages north of Kagbeni also belonged to the administrative unit of Baragaon. Tsharka, lying on the route from Kagbeni to Dolpo also was included in it. These documents confirm the supreme authority of rulers of the castles of the Muktinath Valley in both criminal and civil law.

It is also mentioned that Prime Minister Kaji Damodar Pande in 1803 had issued a decree to the rulers of the castles of the Muktinath Valley which allowed to keep 10% of the fines by the rulers of the Muktinath Valley collected from such sentences. The author also gives an account of documentary evidences which have given legal authorities and *birta* to the rulers of the Muktinath Valley.

It was the obligation of the rulers of the Muktinath Valley towards the Gorkha rulers that they had to deliver yearly tributes to Gorkha rulers (*sirto*) and toll revenues (*jagat*). The annual tribute was delivered in person. If they fail to deliver in person the King punished him with fine.

The documents of 1809 and onwards mention Kagbeni and Baragaon. It shows that they had no control over Manang and Nar. In 1812 their control had diminished drastically.

In the beginning of Rana rule the administrative structure of Baragaon changed drastically. In 1866, 18 villages including Kagbeni, Dzar, Putra and Purang, the whole area of the Muktinath Valley and Baragaon was handed over to General Jagat Jung Bahadur Kunwar, the eldest son of Jung Bahadur. The right to levy taxes and deduct the tolls and to dispense justice were sold to the highest bidders. The 19 villages recorded 19 different people who presided over these villages as Mukhiyas in 1866-67. These events sealed the political and economic hegemony of the rulers of the Muktinath Valley.

In his report Dr. D. Schuh makes mention of the political position of northern Mustang during the transition of power from Jumla to the King of Gorkha.

In 1798 King Rana Bahadur Shah issued two legal documents by quoting Dinesh Raj Pant. The author mentions that the Gorkha King granted nobility and aristocracy of the captured area estates as Birta or gave them the status of dependent small kingdoms if they sided with the conquerors in good time and supported their campaign. In the royal charter of 1790 written in copper plate, the legal arrangements were made which granted Mustang the status of a small dependent kingdom. It includes other provisions too.

The other document of King Rana Bahadur Shah, drawn in 1790 which belongs to the archives of the current Raja of Mustang shows how little the old internal position of the *sDe-pa* of Mustang was affected by the new balance of power in Nepal.

The copper plate of 1790 shows that the conflict between Mustang and Jumla goes back to the second half of the 17th century. Mustang had to pay a tribute to Jumla and had to give greater part of its areas. In the war between the rulers of Gorkha and Jumla Mustang took the side of Gorkha. As a reward Mustang received a portion of the areas which had been lost to Jumla. The tribute paid to the King of Jumla was paid to the King of Gorkha. The area of Baragaon which before 1700 had belonged to Mustang was not again placed in the domain of Mustang. The Muktinath Valley was gradually separated from Mustang.

Tribute payment to Lhasa continued until 1790.

The author notes that until the first half of the 18th century announcements to the King of Mustang came generally from the Tibetan sovereign in the form of royal legal documents. Moreover, the author gives a reference of a treaty approved by the Chinese Emperor (gon-ma-chenpo) which forms the foundation of the Tibetan borders. Hereafter following 1793 the Tibetan Government was no longer allowed to issue legal documents for the areas beyond Tibetan border. It is clear that after the setting of the borders between Nepal and Tibet in 1793 Mustang was definitely included within the territory of Nepal. With this, the remaining earlier legal claim of Tibet was forfeited. For historical significance the author cites the letter of the Regent.

To conclude the report, Dr. D. Schuh has mentioned the account of the political dependency between Mustang and Jumla in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Quoting A. H Francke the author says that the military conflict has taken place in 1723. Tek Bahadur Shrestha mentions another military conflict between Jumla and Mustang in 1719. Jakson refers that the battles between Mustang and Jumla were supposed to have taken place in 1652. Quoting Hamilton the author says that many states of western Nepal including Baisi and Chaubisi recognised suzerainty of Jumla which was nominal. A peace treaty was drawn up in Tibet which regulated many small political units including the area of modern day Mustang. In this regard the author refers to a document which is lying in the palace of the King of Mustang. The contents of the documents date from before the conquest of Jumla by Gorkha in 1789. The treaty dates back to 1705. It was the treaty between the rulers of Parbat and Mustang. Hamilton refers that the capital of Parbat at that time was Beni. Parbat covered the southern part of trade route between Tibet and Nepal. The peace treaty mentions the inter-dependency of Mustang, Jumla and Parbat. Mention has been made about the second treaty between the Vikrama Shahi, the ruler of Jumla, and Narayan Malla, the ruler of Parbat, at the beginning of the 17th century.

Around the middle of the 17th century Mustang seemed to be dependent on Jumla. Mustang had to pay a tribute to Jumla in the form of 929 rupaiñā and five horses annually before the conquest of Jumla by Gorkha. It had to pay 71 rupaiñā to the Tibetan administration in Lhasa. This is evident from the documents analysed by the author. Jumla's exercise of sovereignty over Mustang was established by at least the reign of Virabahadur Shahi i.e. the 1630s. For the period of about 150 years Mustang belonged to the states dominated by Jumla. However, the relationship between them was not free of conflict. For example, there was a quarrel in 1754 which was finally settled by an agreement negotiated by the 7th Dalai Lama. This intervention is mentioned in his auto-biography of 1755. The author has mentioned this account in detail.

The author also mentions that the attempt of Lhasa administration to establish sovereignty over Jumla was not successful. The rising military power of the Gorkhas swept away the kingdom of Jumla a few decades later. It even threatened Lhasa so severely that they could only be warded off with the aid of Chinese intervention.

The conflict that began in 1754 caused separation of *dGe-luṅ* from Mustang and its immediate attachment to Jumla. This reduced the size of Mustang and limited to *sMon-thaṅ* and *gCaṅ-graṅ* as the domain of the King of Mustang. In 1836 Mustang was closed to annihilation before the subjugation of Jumla by Gorkha.

The next report by Angela Simons, Werner Schon and Sukra Sagar Shrestha entitled "The pre-historical settlement of Mustang" presents the first results of the 1993 archaeological investigations in the cave systems and connected ruined sites.

The joint archaeological team of HMG, Department of Archaeology and Cologne University worked in the spring campaign in 1993

in two regions of southern Mustang at the Kali Gandaki Valley. These sites are Chokhopani at Thak Khola and rocky bar of the village Dzong, opposite the village site of Dzar (Jharkot) at the find spot of Mebrak. The report mentions that an initial rescue excavation was carried out in the eastern shaft of Chokhopani. The team could find three burial caves and numerous grave goods. The artifacts included pottery, bronze and copper jewelry, beads of carnelian, bone and faience, bodkins made of schist. As a result of the analysis of the cave remains 14c-date of calBC 777 ± 19 is available.

At the base of the south face, which faces the Chokhopani River at its confluence with the Kali Gandaki from the east numerous cave remains were found. The team found that almost all the cave rooms were the results of human activity and not the natural caves. Excavations over there revealed several occupation levels containing charcoal and bones. They showed radio-carbon date of calBC 785 ± 26. Excavations at the base of southfall showed the remains of inhabited caves. Discovery of the graves and traces of settlement at Chokhopani representing prehistoric period seemed to be significant to understand the early settlement of Mustang.

The report mentions that preliminary investigations of the anthropologists have revealed that in the contents of one slipped funerary cave the remains of at least 14 adults, three youths and two children were found.

The report makes it clear that the burial remains from the south face belongs to the pre-historic phase of around 800 B.C.

The report also gives an account of the investigations in cave systems and ruins of Mebrak in the upper Muktinath Valley. The ruins of Mebrak lies near Dzong (Jhong) in the upper Muktinath Valley. The team worked in the easternmost part of the cave system known as 'B-System' by Dr. A. Simons. The team called it the 'sky-scraper'. The cave's chamber appear seven storeys above one another to 30m. The view from the upper caves led some 90 m down to the River Dzong and to the village of Dzar (Jharkot) on the opposite bank.

The two interesting features of this cave system are, firstly, the cave chamber location 40 on the fifth storey and the cave-complex location 42 above that in the sixth floor. The cave chamber location 40 shows the distinctive feature of the last use of the room. The entrance was partly obstructed through collapsed daub-walls. The clay bricks of different sizes and construction provided evidence of separate building phases. The report elaborately makes mention of the artifacts found in the cave system which included even the fragments of paper with Tibetan writing, artifacts of leather and wood and a sandstone slab, into which the mantra "Om mani padme hum" had been engraved. A radio carbon date gained from one of the baskets shows that this final abandonment of the cave chamber occurred around the middle or the end of the 16th century (calAD 1567 ± 59). The dendrochronological analysis of a wooden beam which was used as a threshold confirms this date (1540). On the floor above location 40 there were preserved the remains of the former gallery connecting the cave chambers. The gallery forms the entrance to the complex cave chamber location 42. The report is illustrated by the diagram of the structures and also gives the isometric view of the cave room. The report also shows the signs of distinct occupation and abandonment phases. Further, the report says that investigation work in the cave has not yet been complete. It will be continued in the next campaign.

The report also gives an account of the findings of the excavations in the two ruined houses in the site of Mebrak. These ruined houses lie on the river terrace in front of the cave systems. There were first trial trenches in 1992. The stratigraphical analysis hitherto has revealed that the walls were erected during different periods but were continually adjusted to meet the new conditions. The team was concerned with the question of the

relationship of the houses with the neighbouring cave systems or entrance, whether the occupation and abandonment phases within the two settlement types run concurrently.

The report also includes a brief account of the survey in upper Mustang. The team visits north Mustang, the area to the north of Kagbeni to Lo-manthang. The team makes investigations near Lo, one near Dhe and two in the area of Tsele and Tetang. The team gives remark that the characteristic of the cave system in northern Mustang in many cases is well preserved whereas as one can deduce rudimentarily such system in the Muktinath Valley. The cave system over there in north Mustang shows the important settlement processes of the Himalayan region.

The report points out that a multipartite cave system with two surviving stairways exist below the settlement of Tsele in the Valley of the Gyakar Khola to the western side of the Kali Gandaki Valley. To the east of Lomanthang the castle like cave system of Mardzong is situated. It consists of several storeys with remains of galleries together with beam-slots of earlier wooden porches, as well as a tower on the plateau of the cave system. The cave system of Dhe displays a well refined and well preserved infrastructure. In Mardzong paintings survive from the latest phases. A cave system near Luri is partly used as a religious centre. The *gomba* signifies the entrance to a richly painted cave-chorten. The rooms on different floors were connected with ladders and trap-doors. There are also inhabited caves from Choser to the north of Lo. In Marang to the south of Lo, members of a household live in a certainly older caves. Thus the report shows that people have still access to caves.

To conclude, the report mentions that "the cave system represents a settlement type which keeps the neighbouring fields free for cultivation and not restricted by development. Moreover, the complicated cave-systems represent a suitable form of settlement in this arid high mountainous environment providing optimal protection against strong winds and extreme fluctuations in temperature."

Investigations in the History of the Muktinath Valley and Adjacent Areas

Part I

- Dieter Schuh

in Collaboration with
Wangdu Lama, Monika Kretschmar
and M. L. Karmacharya

1. Introduction

The Muktināth Valley, containing a pilgrimage site revered by both Hindus and Buddhists, is considered one of the most holy places in Nepal. For this reason it receives early attention in Mustang research. G. Tucci and D. Snellgrove visited the holy place during their expeditions to Mustang. Apparently neither scholar was greatly impressed by the buildings they found at the holy place. Snellgrove, however, rates the section of valley of the *rJoṅ* river extending downstream from Muktināth to Kag as "more interesting". He mentions the native name of the valley as *Jar-rjoṅ-yul-drug*, and refers briefly to *rJoṅ*, with its impressive, although now ruined, castle of *Rab-rgyal-rce*, of which he remarks: "This was originally the seat of the "king" of the whole valley".[1] Tucci emphasises the fertility of the valley, and remarks of its inhabitants that they were subject to the town of Dzar and its kings.[2]

Apart from casually mentioning previous "kings" of the Muktināth Valley, the reports of Tucci and Snellgrove do not contain anything of historical significance. One of the first, and fundamental, augmentations of our knowledge of the history of the Muktināth Valley comes from David Jackson's investigation of the history of a region, the name of which he gives as *Se-rib* (see Jackson 2), and which is said to include, amongst other areas, the Muktināth Valley. Jackson bases his investigation on several histographical sources in which the name *Se-rib* is occasionaly, but repeatedly, mentioned. Thus it is justifiable to conclude that *Se-rib* was a geographically distinct

political and cultural unit situated adjacent to *Glo*, and may have included districts in the upper Kali Gandaki Valley. The name *Se-rib*, used as the regional name until around the end of the seventeenth century, is today apparently completely forgotten, and appears to live on only in the name *Se-skad*, an expression used by the inhabitants of the villages situated north of Kagbeni, Tshug, Taye, Tsele, Gyaga and Te, to refer to their apparently related languages. This could be interpreted as an abbreviation for *se-rib kyi skad* (*Se-rib* language).[3] It must be noted here that speakers of this language, if questioned about the meaning of the syllable *se* in *se-skad*, don't interpret it in this way, and moreover don't know the expression *se-rib*.

Inhabitants of the Muktināth Valley speaking Tibetan dialects refer to even Thakali and Manangi as *se-skad*. They identify their own language, however, as *bod-skad* (Tibetan language). It is also of interest that *Se-skad* speakers refer to the Gurung and Tamang languages as *Se-skad*.

With the aid of the material investigated so far, the question of what area *Se-rib* originally occupied cannot be answered accurately. At the moment it is only clear that it was located adjacent to *Glo*, and in the 13th century also included districts near to Lubra.[4]

A table presented by Jackson, representing 246 students who in the 13th century assembled around a *Bon* priest in *Se-rib*,[5] makes it clear that at that time *Se-rib* certainly embraced a wider area than that made up by the five villages in which *Se-skad* is today spoken. These villages thus appear as a small remnant of what was once a considerably larger political unit.

Who were the inhabitants of *Se-rib*?

If the *Se-skad* speakers of the villages situated north of Kagbeni are asked about their languages, it is discovered that the language in question is not a Tibetan dialect. *Se-skad* is classified as a Tibeto-Burmese language, but do not belong to the sub-group of Tibetan languages. *Se-skad* speakers from the above-mentioned villages explain that their language is much closer to Manangi than to Thakali.

Were the inhabitants of *Se-rib*, then, non-Tibetan members of a Tibeto-Burman ethnic group?

To answer this question, one must refer to an observation found in the collected works of *Glo-bo-mkhan-ćhen bSod-nams-lhun-grub* already high-lighted by Jackson.[5] *Glo-bo-mkhan-ćhen*, a great scholar of the 15th century of Tibetan origin, descended from the ruling family of *Glo*, states that the inhabitants of *Se-rib* were of Indian origin and were descended from the Pandavas. The importance of this observation lies in the fact that in the 15th century, the inhabitants of *Se-rib* had been viewed as non-Tibetan by a person of ethnic Tibetan descent; we need attribute no great significance to the remark regarding descent from the Pandavas. To answer the above question we could therefore say yes, the inhabitants of *Se-rib* belonged to the non-Tibetan Tibeto-Burman group.

The question of the former geographical size of *Se-rib* prompts a number of speculations; thus it is small wonder that it is not even clear whether the Muktināth Valley belonged to *Se-rib*.

It must first be observed that the present inhabitants of the six villages of the Muktināth Valley speak a Tibetan dialect. The same applies to the

inhabitants of Kagbeni and a few other villages situated on the - looking from the Muktināth Valley - opposite side of the Kali Gandaki river. According to Fürer-Haimendorf the Tibetan speakers of all three settlements were considered Bhotias. At one time they did not consider it important to distinguish themselves from the Tibetan inhabitants of Glo.[6] Schuler described the inhabitants of the Muktināth Valley as follows:[7]

> "Their architectural and dress styles are distinctively Tibetan as, for the most part, are their family and village organization and marriage customs."

If we look closely at the geographical environment of this surviving "Tibetan enclave" made up of twelve villages, it becomes obvious that they are completely surrounded by non-Tibetan settlements. If one travels north in the direction of *Glo*, one comes across the five *Se-skad* speaking villages. To the South the enclave is bordered by the Thakali villages, and to the East, beyond the Thorang Pass, one comes upon the Manangi settlements.

2. Narratives as sources of history of the Muktināth Valley

The orally related literature to be found in this area has been referred to in the endeavour to discover how this Tibetan enclave could have come into being. We know of the existence of oral historical literature in our research area through the work of Vinding[8], Schuler[9], Kretschmar[10] and Ramble[11]. M. Kretschmar has described this literature as chronicle-like narratives. The narratives so far investigated by Vinding, Ramble and Schuler are difficult to use, due to the entirely unsatisfactory manner in which they are presented. For example, in Vinding's work we find two versions of accounts of the history of Garab Dzong, situated near Thini; yet they are not translations of the original narratives, but rather subjective interpretations by the author, which presented thus are largely useless as sources of information for research. In the work of Schuler and Ramble one finds the greatly abridged summaries of the family history of an aristocratic family from Dzar, in which, generally speaking, there is only quoted that which these two researchers view as historically significant. No attempt was made to take these chronicle-like narratives seriously as oral literature prior to interpretation, and rendering accessible by editing and translating.

The now familiar chronicles of the history of the Muktināth Valley all refer to the clan history of an aristocratic family living today in Dzar, who are said to have formerly ruled over the Muktināth Valley and whose history is, according to these accounts, closely bound up with the establishing of the castles in Dzong and Dzar.

This aristocratic family bore the clan name Tśampal Thukci, a name which is quoted by Schuler[12] as Jampal Thogye and by Ramble[13] as Jampal Thogyal (*'Ĵam-dpal thog-rgyal*). The current master of Dzar, *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal*, differs from the majority of the other inhabitants of the Muktināth Valley in that he is fluent in spoken and written Nepali, can read and write Tibetan, and also speaks the central Tibetan language quite well. From him comes the first of the chronicle-like narratives of the history of his clan. The second narrative comes from Sōnam Pālkye of Dzong. Both narratives were tape-recorded by M. Kretschmar in 1983 in the Muktināth Valley.

2.1. The history of the Tśa̱mpal-Thukci clan as narrated by dPal-mgon-lhro-rgyal edited and translated by Monika Kretschmar

2.1.1. Text of the narration

(1) ta̱ṅponi lōlani lō ce̱wo nāken tśīk tśu̱ruk ā? !

(2) te̱ lō ce̱wo nāken tśu̱ṅi ka̱ṅkolani, lo ce̱woko tshemeki tśi̱a, te̱ni lō ce̱wo tshemi ta̱rsu tśhe, āṅ tśhe tśu̱ruk.

(3) te̱ o̱nti tü̱kolani te̱ni tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo tśāṅa tśu̱ri, ke̱ tśi̱ruk nēsuṅ nāna: "lōki sā ti̱ le̱nna ma̱na, o̱ṅsa mi̱ntuk. ti̱ tshemeki te̱ni śūk tśheru la̱suṅ. śu̱kla tshulaka [cēn] (cō̃n) capṅo", nēri, te̱ni tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo tśhoknini "thakkuri" nēri te̱ni pīn ñī lōla tāruk ā.

(4) te̱ ·lōkola pi̱sa pīn ñī tāṅi ka̱ṅkolani, tā "tśa̱mpal thukci" nākenko e̱ pi̱sa pīn ñī tśu̱ṅkenko.

(5) te̱ lōkola ṭhik lēi ka̱ṅkolani, te̱ pi̱sa pīn ñīwoko ū̃ru te̱.

(6) lō ce̱wi śiptśe śü̱.

(7) ke̱ tśi̱ri te̱ti ka̱ṅkolani, te̱ni pi̱sa pīn ñīwoko tshemeki tśö̱na khewa tśu̱ ö̱ti tshö tu̱k, o̱nturu.

(8) te̱ni khewa tśu̱ṅ.

(9) te̱ni jākṭoṅ tsūk, ṭi̱ṭoṅ tsūk, ra̱ṭoṅ tsūkti, te̱ni kham sa̱ṅi te̱ni o̱nti tsūi ka̱ṅkola, te̱ni lōla ke̱ nēsuṅ nāna: "ja̱, ti̱ [ce̱wi] ce̱wi ñātokla [śō̃ṅo] (tśhoṅṅo). tśhoṅcaṅ ma̱na mi̱ntuk, ti̱. ti̱ pīn ñīwo ti̱ ka̱ ma̱tśusuṅ. ti̱ phucini ti̱nṭe khewa tśīk ta̱ṅ ti̱nṭē tśi̱a tśīk tśi̱ken ma̱tśusuṅ", nēri, te̱ni khoṅa ṭö̱ tśu̱.

(10) te̱ ṭö̱ tśu̱ṅi tü̱kola, ke̱ tśi̱ruk nēsuṅ nāna, tso̱ṅ khar, kāk khar nēri te̱ni khar ñī kho pūra ca̱p si̱ntuk.

(11) tsa̱rtu [ta̱ṅ] te̱ni "kōṭuṅma" nēri te̱ni tśīme tśīk ma̱na ma̱sökenki tshö tśi̱suṅ, tā tu̱ru.

(12) [te̱ o̱nti la̱pko...] sö̱ ka̱ṅkolani, te̱nini tso̱ṅtu khar ca̱p, kāktu khar ca̱p.

(13) te̱ khar ti̱ pūra ca̱p si̱ni ka̱ṅkolani, tā lō ce̱wa thukṭalkola "ti̱ pīn ñīwoki ca̱lsa si̱ṅo. tā [ce̱wo ti̱ tu̱ru ke̱aṅ] ma̱tśusuṅ", nēri thukla ko̱m, ke̱ tśi̱rini.

(14) te̱ni o̱nti ce̱woko tā ṭhatok la̱ṅken tśōkra tśīk tśi̱ruk.

(15) te̱ni ce̱wo ma̱kö te̱ni mōntaṅki kūṭakpaja tā mi̱ tśheri tśhetse ka̱ṅpoko ru̱k tśi̱ri: "ti̱ pīn ñīwo ti̱ tsāni tśu̱ṅ mö̱joṅ, ti̱ pīn ñīwo ti̱ sēna ma̱na. ti̱ phucini te̱ni ti̱ ca̱ltu ti̱ tśu̱ṅ mö̱joṅ. ce̱wo si̱n thup mö̱joṅ", nēri, o̱n nēruk.

(16) te̱ o̱n nēi ka̱ṅla, ke̱ tśi̱ruk nēsuṅ nāna, te̱ lō ce̱woki hrewo śīkla la̱tak ce̱wo tsāla te̱ni tsīmo le̱ntu tāṅken tśīkla tśu̱ruk.

(17) te̱ni tsīmo le̱ntu tāṅi ka̱ṅkolata, te̱ni [no̱oko...te̱ni ē] āśoko mōntaṅtu por.

(18) te̱ni no̱oko tsīmo le̱ntu tāṅ tśi̱ri, pīn ñīwo̱ko te̱ni re̱ re̱ ṭāltini, la̱tak ce̱wo tsāla te̱ni lō ce̱wi tsīmo le̱ntu tāruk.

(19) te̱ tsīmo le̱ntu tārini, te̱ni ū̃koru kāple ca̱pti ca̱pti, te̱ni tsīmoko cherti o̱ni ka̱ṅlani, te̱ni [tu̱koruni] (tu̱rukoni) ṭōṅ si̱nti, mi̱ntuk, tu̱ru te̱kenkoni.

(20) lō ce̲woki te̲ni khatak ca̲ri, mīkpi na̲ṅla khatak ca̲ri ca̲ri, tu̲kpo tāri, sētuk.

(21) te̲ni ū̄ru ö̲kenko te̲ni lō ce̲wi tsīmoko, la̲tak ce̲wo hremoko te̲ni cherti o̲ṅik, ū̄ni tshula.

(22) ja̲ṅ ce̲wo [le̲ṅka] (le̲ka) ṅōne ṭa̲ṅne tśi̲ri, ja̲ṅ tsīmoko cherti o̲ṅik.

(23) te̲ tu̲ru lēwi ka̲ṅkolani, te̲ni: "āśo ke̲ tśi̲a re̲? te̲ o̲nti ke̲a mi̲ntuk", nēri ka̲ṅlani, "āśoni o̲n tśi̲ri ṭo̲suṅ: na̲tsa tśu̲ri ṭo̲suṅ e̲ke tśhak tśhöpani pūlwen. te̲ni chöraṅ ke̲ tśi̲naaṅ, tśi̲! tā āśo ṭo̲ri me̲tala, ke̲ tśi̲ko? e̲ tśhak tśhöpani pūlwen, ke̲ tśi̲", nēi ka̲ṅla, to̲raṅa ū̄ni tsīmo ta̲mṭi śū̲ri o̲ṅkenki mi̲ko to̲raaṅni ṅōne ṭa̲ṅni le̲ka tśi̲ri te̲tuk, mōntaṅtu.

(24) te̲ ṭhik tśi̲(ri), ja̲la tśi̲ [mi̲tśi] (ma̲la tśi̲ti) ka̲ṅlani - te̲ni mōntaṅtu te̲ni, khoṅpekola o̲raṅ ji̲nna, tā tsīmo ṅo̲tok mi̲nken tsīmo ja̲ṅka tśīk ö̲ti tshö ji̲nko ra̲k. - o̲ntikoikani: "chöraṅ tu̲ru te̲n mā-tśha! chöraṅ tu̲ru te̲n tśhakna, śa̲kmo tśīk sēcaṅ ma̲na me̲ka ra̲k. sēcaṅ ma̲na me̲ta ra̲k. ke̲ ra̲k nēsuṅ nāna: chö āśoja ti̲nṭe̲ tśi̲rini, śīśiani ma̲nak. nātsa tśu̲ri, śīśiani ma̲nak. ti̲ lō ce̲wi sēseta ra̲k. chö tu̲ru te̲na, śa̲kmo tśīk sēcaṅ mana me̲ka ra̲k", nēri nēruk.

(25) te̲ni ja̲la ma̲la tśi̲ri la̲p tśi̲ti ka̲ṅla, te̲ni sēmpala to̲kpa cērini, tā ma̲la tu̲ru kāk kharni ca̲p si̲npa ra̲k, tso̲ṅtuni ca̲p si̲npa ra̲k, tsa̲rtu tā tśēme tśīkni ca̲p si̲npa ra̲k.

(26) te̲ni ca̲pkenki tū̲kolani: "ti̲nṭe̲ tśi̲tala, ṅa̲ tu̲ru te̲tala, ṅa̲ mē tśhokla ṭö̲ri ṭo̲ko. tā ti̲ lō ce̲wi ja̲ mi̲tśi. tā ṅa̲ tu̲ru me̲te", nēi ka̲ṅkolani, te̲ lō ce̲wojak ti̲ ja̲tak ma̲tak tśi̲ri, ko̲a kōrtini, te̲ni ro̲ko ca̲ptuk, ja̲ṅ.

(27) lō ce̲woko ta̲ṅ tā e̲ke me̲me, ñīwoko, ro̲ko ca̲ptuk, ja̲ṅni.

(28) te̲ni ro̲ko ca̲i ka̲ṅla, nā tśhompo cāltuk.

(29) nāko ke̲ nēri cāltuk nāna [ē]: "tśa̲ṭak [sāmla na̲m] sāla na̲m thim pa̲r, tśa̲pu [sāla] (nāmla) na̲m phur pa̲r, [ē...ko̲o...ā] kēpli sākartu na̲m ṭo̲ pa̲r - o̲raṅ ko̲ala kēpli o̲ṅa ra̲k nā -, o̲tiko sākārtu na̲m ṭo̲ pa̲r, te̲ni te̲msi tāṅsa me̲", nēri, te̲ni ro̲ko ca̲ptuk, ja̲ṅ.

(30) te̲ o̲nṭe tśi̲ri, ja̲ṅ lo̲ sūmtsam ko̲r tu̲k, ja̲ṅ o̲nturu ja̲ṅ.

(31) te̲ni śa̲kmo tśīkni: "ja̲, ma̲nak. tā ṅi̲ āśo sēti me̲tala, te̲ni khola ṅa̲ ke̲ nēri śiptśe pūl kö̲ken, tö̲ntak, khoi le̲ka ka̲ṅ ṅa̲ tśi̲ kö̲ken, tö̲ntak ke̲?! tā tu̲ru me̲te", nēri, te̲ni kho tā sēmnak khortukta.

(32) ti̲ ṭhik khori ka̲ṅlani: "tā ṅa̲ tu̲ru tsāni me̲te", nē.

(33) tā ti̲ mē tśhokkolani khaṅpa ca̲pti, tā pūra kholani tshaṅ si̲npa ra̲kta.

(34) "tā tu̲ru tsāni me̲te", nēri, sāmlo tāṅi ka̲ṅkola, te̲: "lō ce̲wo; ce̲wo! ce̲wo ta̲ṅ lõmponi ro̲ko ca̲pkan ti̲ni ṭa̲ mē-tśhaa śīk tu̲k, ja̲ṅ. ti̲ tsa̲mpuliṅla ñe̲ṅken tśōkra tṣīk tu̲k, ti̲. 'ce̲wo ta̲ṅ lõmpo ro̲ko ca̲a ra̲k', nēri, te̲ni tsa̲mpuliṅki pēla ñe̲ nā. tā o̲raṅ ñīwo ro̲ko tśhilok tśi̲, jā! tśhilok tśi̲! ṅa̲ tu̲ru me̲te", nēri, nēi ka̲ṅla, te̲ni "tśa̲ṅ mö̲joṅ", nēri, sūruk, lō ce̲woki.

(35) "tā 'tśu̲ṅ mö̲joṅ' nāna, jā o̲na...", nēri...; - ta̲nta mōntaṅtuaṅ ö̲lo - "tśa̲ra ka̲ṅ" nāken śīk.

(36) te̱ni [o̱nti] o̱ntikoru tśa̱ tśīka lēpṅolo.

(37) tśa̱ tśīk si̱n, āmṭok na̱ṅla tśūk.

(38) te̱ni "tü̱ra ka̱ṅ" nāsakoru, [te̱ni tü̱ śīk] o̱raṅ tü̱ṭökoruni, te̱ni kēpli ma̱ṅpo öti tshö o̱ṅko ra̱k.

(39) kēpli tśīk tśūk, te̱ni ko̱a khakola po̱r, thö tśīk ca̱p, te̱ tśa̱ko āmṭokla tśūk.

(40) "tā me̱te", nēri, te̱ni o̱kkoru tāla tēka cap, te̱ lō ce̱wo tsāla sōwa ra̱klo.

(41) "ce̱wo, ce̱wo! lō̃mpo tāṅ ce̱wo, ñīwo, ro̱ko ca̱pken ti̱ni ta̱ mē-tśhaa śīk tu̱k. pēlaaṅ ñe̱ṅṅo. tā ko̱ṅpa nāṅa tse̱! ti̱ tsāni tśu̱ṅsa mi̱ntuk. ti̱ tsānitse tśu̱ṅsa mi̱ntuk. tā ko̱ṅpa nāṅa tse̱!" nēri ka̱ṅla, "ko̱ṅpa nāṅ mö̱joṅ!"

(42) "jā o̱nȧ, ko̱ṅpa mēnaṅna, ke̱?!" nērini, "kēpli sā o̱ktu la̱suṅ", nērini, kēpliko sōltśak khala "tok" nēri po̱ra ra̱klo.

(43) "jā, tśa̱ pūaṅ nāmla phursuṅ", nērini, pūko pa̱rnaṅla tōrti po̱ra ra̱klo.

(44) "tśa̱ṭaa sāla thimsuṅ", nēri, ṭhakko sāla lūkti po̱ra ra̱klo.

(45) "tā, ji̱na, nā mē-phoai ö̱, ṅala."

(46) te̱ni o̱kkola tākola tēka ca̱pti po̱ra ra̱k.

(47) tāko śö̱nti, te̱ni, te̱ni tśu̱r o̱wa ra̱klota.

(48) tśu̱r o̱i ka̱ṅkola, te̱ni lō ce̱woki mākme, mākme tśōkrata, o̱nti mi̱ [te̱ni] tshemi tāwa ra̱k, śa̱mla.

(49) tāṅaraṅ, nō̱ṅko nō̱ṅko tśi̱wa ra̱klo, ṻ sāmar thekakola.

(50) te̱ni nō̱ṅko tśi̱ti ka̱ṅkolani: "ja̱, tā ti̱ ṅa̱ nō̱ṅko tśi̱suṅ. ṅa̱, mi̱ tśīk, khoṅai sēṅo", nērini, tāi ṅāmala śūkpa śīk ra̱k.

(51) tāko [ja̱] (tśhōk) tśīkla, ca̱p, mi̱ko [ja̱] (tshok) tśīkni tö̱wa ra̱klo.

(52) te̱ti te̱ti o̱ṅi ka̱ṅkolani: "ā! ti̱, ti̱ mi̱ ti̱ śī si̱nti, mi̱ntuk. ā! la̱mkokla pāṭe me̱ken ṭ̱üti sō ru̱k. tā śīri, mi̱ntuk. tī mi̱ ti̱ śīri, mi̱ntuk", nēri, te̱ni śa̱mla o̱ṅken mi̱jak lo̱kti sōwa ra̱klo.

(53) te̱ni ja̱lo o̱, o̱ntija ke̱ tśi̱ri, te̱ni tśhui tshurkenkola thönpa ra̱klota, tā ra̱ṅ mi̱, ñīkarak te̱pla.

(54) te̱ tśhu tshurkenkola thöni ka̱ṅkolani, te̱ni o̱nturu ma̱kaṅko tā tso̱ṅki ti̱ ji̱n tshö tu̱k, ta̱nta o̱nti tso̱ṅki o̱nti kharko, khar khaṅpa ko̱kpo tijak.

(55) te̱ o̱nturu te̱ti ka̱ṅkolani, o̱nturu lēp.

(56) te̱ni tsīmo ṅo̱tokko o̱nturu ö̱ta rak, o̱nturu te̱.

(57) te̱ni ke̱ tśi̱rini, te̱ āruṅ ma̱ṅa te̱n tśhakpa ra̱klo.

(58) ja̱ṅni lō ce̱woki mākme tāṅ, mi̱ser tāṅ tśi̱wa ra̱klo.

(59) "tā sō̱le!" nēri, "ta̱rak kho ta̱ me̱nta tśi̱suṅ. sō̱le!" nēri, te̱ tāṅi ka̱ṅla, te̱ni khaṅpako kōra ki̱ri mi̱ khorti te̱pa ra̱klota, lō ce̱woki mi̱.

(60) te̱ni kōri ka̱ṅla, tśi̱tap tsāni ma̱tśuwa ra̱klota.

(61) tśi̱tap mi̱tśuṅaraṅ, khoṅa ke̱ nēsuṅ nāna:

"me̲pkak tśhupkak tśi̲ko. te̲ni tu̲krila śīṅo", nēri, nākenko tā lō ce̲woki mākmeja tśu̲suṅta.

(62) te̲ni ti̲ mi̲ko te̲ni ca̲lkaṅ na̲ṅkoru pe̲ tśhu tśhepa ra̲klota.

(63) tā tśhuko na̲k tshare tśhepa ra̲klo.

(64) tā tśhu me̲ta ra̲klota.

(65) tśhu me̲ti ka̲ṅla, ce̲mokoki mu̲rkuki hra ṭhüwa ra̲klo, tā o̲turu, pēmpoki cērmenkoki, [to̲tsa] tso̲ṅkoru.

(66) te̲ mu̲rku hra ṭhüi ka̲ṅlani: "āpao! o̲raṅ [ca̲lkap] ca̲lkaṅ kōrti te̲tijaṅ..., ke̲ tśi̲ko?! o̲raṅka tśhu [kākki] (kākken) khoṅaka tśhu̲ki ja̲ṅ hra ṭhüken, hraa ṭhüken. tā po̲r śo̲k! tu̲ru te̲ mö̲koak", nēri, ja̲ṅ tśīk lo̲kti sōwa ra̲klo, ja̲ṅ.

(67) te̲ [o̲tu] (o̲ntini) lo̲kti ṭö̲i ka̲ṅlani: "ja̲, tā, ke̲ tśi̲naaṅ, tśu̲ṅsa mi̲ntuk", nēri, tā [tso̲ṅ pō̃mi] tso̲ṅ pēmpoki, o̲ntiko nāta, thukkola.

(68) "tā lō ce̲wi ke̲ tśi̲naaṅ ṅa̲ te̲tu tśūksani mi̲ntuk. tu̲ru tā tśhak thupsani mi̲ntuk. tā lō ce̲wo āṅ tśhe śīk ra̲k. ja̲, te̲ni ṅa̲ ti̲nte [ji̲na] ma̲na mi̲ntuk: tā ṅa̲ tsu̲mlaṅla ṭo̲ko", nēri, tā tsu̲mlaṅla lo̲kti sōwa ra̲klo, ja̲ṅ.

(69) te̲ tsu̲mlaṅla ṭhik ṭö̲i ka̲ṅlakala, te̲ni tsu̲mlaṅkoruaṅṅi tā ṅo̲ mēśe, hala tshula.

(70) te̲ni ṅo̲ mēśe; ke̲ tśi̲?!

(71) tshuk theliṅ ka̲ṅ, te̲ni ti̲ tśēme ka̲śen śīk, khap ka̲śen śīk, tshuk ka̲śen śīk tśi̲rini, te̲ni tsu̲mlaṅ ce̲wola tśhak pūla ra̲klo, tā e̲ke me̲mekoki.

(72) te̲ni tśhakko ṭhik pūli ka̲ṅla, tsu̲mlaṅ ce̲wo: "[ti̲nṭe m...] te̲riṅ ma̲na ṅa̲la ti̲nṭe tśhak pūlken o̲ṅ ma̲ñuṅ", se̲r.

(73) "tā, sā to̲ktok tśīk, khap tśīk, ṭi̲ śīk, tshuk tśīk..., ti̲ mi̲ ti̲ tsō̃nla co̲kla po̲r!" nēri, ja̲ṅni tsō̃nla ca̲kti po̲ra ra̲klo, ja̲ṅ tsu̲mlaṅ ce̲woki.

(74) tā ū̃ru tsō̃nla ṭhik ca̲k ke̲ tśi̲ti ka̲ṅkolani, te̲ni lō̃mpo mi̲ṭak ka̲ṅpo ṭhik tso̲mti ṭö̲ tśi̲ti ka̲ṅla: "te̲riṅ o̲nte tśhak pūltu o̲ṅken tśīk tśu̲suṅ. te̲ni ti̲ mi̲ [ka̲ṅpo] ṅi̲ tsō̃nla ca̲kti po̲rwen. ti̲ mi̲ ti̲ni tsō̃nla ca̲kpen", nēri, sūṅi ka̲ṅkola, te̲ni lō̃mpo ta̲ṅ mi̲ṭak ka̲ṅpota [ē] o̲nti tśi̲ mā-thuwa ra̲kta, [ēwa pēken] (ṭa̲ tśö̃ken) mā-thuwa ra̲k.

(75) o̲ntini ce̲moko o̲wa ra̲klo.

(76) ce̲moko o̲rika: "ha! ke̲ nā re̲?!" ce̲mokoika: "sā ti̲ na̲ṅśiṅki sā ö̲, nā ra̲k. hm! ṭi̲ ti̲ na̲ṅśiṅki tshöntśa nōṅ, nā ra̲k. khap ti̲ na̲ṅśiṅkiaṅ tshöntśa nōṅ, nā ra̲k, khola. tshuk ti̲ na̲ṅśiṅki mi̲ser nōṅ, nā ra̲k, khola. ti̲ ma̲na khola te̲ni la̲p ma̲ṅpo me̲ṭo. tā śōk nō̃! khola tā tśīk ṭi̲ ta̲ṅ!" nēri, ce̲mokoi sūwa ra̲klota, tsō̃nla tśūk si̲nsinki mi̲kola.

(77) te̲ tsō̃nni ja̲la tō̃ntini, te̲ni mi̲kola ṭi̲i ka̲ṅla: "ṅa̲ o̲ti ji̲n", se̲r.

(78) "ṭi̲ ta̲ṅ khap tśōkrako ṅa̲la te̲ tshöntśa nōṅ, nā ji̲n", se̲r, "tshöntśa nōṅ!" nē.

(79) "[ē] tshuk ti̲ tśōkrako ṅa̲la mākme nōṅ, nā ji̲n. ṅa̲ o̲ti cītuk śu̲ru o̲wen. ti̲ ṅa̲ te̲ni hlakpa cītuk śu̲je me̲", nēri, tā me̲mekoi sūwa ra̲k, ja̲ṅ, [hala] tā hala tshula ṅo̲ mēśe.

(80) te̲ sūṅi ka̲ṅkola, te̲ni: "te̲mpa ra̲k", nēri, tā la̲pko ñīko ko̲ thukti, o̲ te̲ni mākme tērtukta.

(81) ta, ti, tuṅ taṅ teni mākme tērtuk, tā tsumlaṅ cewoni jala.

(82) teni mākme tēri kaṅla, teni, teni eke memekoni teni jala pheptüta, mōntaṅla?!

(83) ñēnla tā tśhipti, ñēnla tśur pheptuk nā.

(84) teni mōntaṅki cula jaṅ jala mala teni sūṅlapsu lap tśi, ke tśiri, ten tśhai kaṅla, te jul tśiktu teni tśholo tśīwa roli öta jaṅ, tśholo śīk.

(85) teni: "'mōntaṅ śaṅi śoṅśuṅ re. śaṅśuṅ chiki takpa re', ser. tsāraṅ maraṅ tshermi jul tōkju meti cēwa cō. maraṅ ṭakla ṭhewa tā. kemi tamla [piwa ser] piwa ṭa, ser. sā cirku tsompi ciluṅ jin. teniaṅ tsar tsō̃ tśīk tsar ö", nēri, teni memeko sūrü?!

(86) teni, onti kaṅla teni, tsumlaṅi mākmeko teni teni la śīkni thönti oṅi tshö rak.

(87) teni ṭiliṅ putuṅ turi nā - tā oraṅ tīliṅ putuṅ mituṅai?! -, tīliṅ putuṅ turi oṅi kaṅkola: "tīṅ putuṅ tsumlaṅ ṅā kē re",-s. "ṭha nare tseci lala tu",-s, tseci la nāken tśīkla thöni, tā mākmeko.

(88) teni on thönti oṅi kaṅla, teni lō cewo mākme up o.

(89) [teni māk] teni māk captü, tā onturu?!

(90) teni māk cai kaṅla, teni, ñīṅtśe, lō cewi mākmeko khatam tāri portuk nā, tā tsumlaṅ cewo mākmekoki.

(91) teni hala maṅpo sē, ke tśi.

(92) teni [kōpteri sē] maṅpo sē, ke tśita raṅka, tshulani..., mōntaṅki tśhurakpa nērini āa śīk oṅka rak, jaṅ - oraṅ jina rik āa śīk -.

(93) ontika, teni cak capti, cakko naṅla mārtsa lūkti, mārtsa lūk [lūṅ] (lūk).

(94) [ē] mārtsa mārtsa lūktika, tśēe tśīk sēpa raklo, tshula.

(95) teni ti "pūra" nāsaru, teni "lāma tēnsin" nāken śīk öka raklo, ta, ṭi, tuṅ kekiaṅ mē-phüken, onti tükola.

(96) teni: "lāma tēnsin ti mintuk, śēmpa tēnsin tuk", nēwa raklo.

(97) onti lāmakola ta, ṭi, tuṅki mī-phü ö tshö tukta, māk cai kaṅla.

(98) teni jala tśi mala tśiri, teni tśhenko ṭii kaṅla..., śen ṅō̃ma oraṅ ti sāptśe ti pūra ni lō cewoki ok tśusuṅ nāta.

(99) te onti teni mākko śōrtika, teni sāmar mantśiko, parakaon, onti jantśiko teni "lō tsho tün" nēri teni tā tśhen ṭikti, tā māk captu [mia] (mū̃tśuwa), teni tśham tukta.

(100) te onti tśham ti ke tśirika, tenika teni teni eke cüpakota śiko kāktuaṅ mā-tśhawa, tsartuaṅ mā-tśhawa, tsoṅtu tśhaktuk, jaṅ, tā śiko.

(101) teni tsoṅtu tśhak tukta.

(102) teni [tsoṅ, tsoṅ tharwotse...ē] "tsoṅ tharwotse" "tsoṅ pūltuṅtse" nāken öken rak, tantaan tsoṅla.

(103) teni "tsēko" nākenkota: onti kaṅla "tsē" nāraṅta, calkaṅ nē öta jinṭo nāta, onti

ka̱ṅla.

(104) te̱ni "tharwotse" "pūltuṅtse" nēri, te̱ni tso̱ṅla tśhāktuk.

(105) te̱ni tso̱ṅla tśhai ka̱ṅkola, ke̱ tśi̱ruk nēsuṅ nāna, te̱ni "pēnsa" nēri tśīk ö̱ka ra̱k, tu̱ru, tsa̱rki sāptśa.

(106) te̱ni pēnsakola ke̱ tśi̱ruk nāna, pēmpoki tśhipa tāksa, ke̱ tśi̱ri, pēnsa.

(107) te̱ni o̱nti tü̱kolani [pēmpoko] (jōkpoko) śa̱kmo ṭa̱ṅ tśhipa ja̱la tāktak, ma̱la tāktak tśi̱ti ka̱ṅkola, śa̱kmo tśīk kho phorako kho ca̱ptini po̱rti sō.

(108) [ā] "ṅa̱ tśīka tu̱kpo tu̱k. ṅa̱ ṅātok tā tāktu o̱ṅ o̱ṅ, ko̱mo tā ja̱la cher cher. ti̱ni pēmpo ti̱ tsa̱rla cēri po̱rnaaṅ, ti̱a na̱k", nēri, [pēmpoko] [sāmla] (sēmla) khorti, [jōk] jōkpokoki: "tā pēmpo tsa̱rla cākal ö̱suṅ nēsuṅ nānani, na̱ṅparni ṅi̱ phora ti̱ kha lo̱a śōk, ka̱cila! tsa̱rla cākal me̱suṅ nēsuṅ nānani phora ti̱ tśāi [tö̱la] (te̱ta) śōk ō!" nēri, kho mōlam ca̱pti, tāko tso̱ṅla cherti sōruk nā.

(109) te̱ cherti sōri, na̱ṅpar ṅātok kho tāko tāktu o̱ṅaraṅni, phorako ka̱cila [o̱ri] (lo̱kti) te̱tuk, tsā ma̱ṅta cēri.

(110) te̱ni khoki, na̱ṅpar jōkpokokini: "pēmpo, pēmpo! ti̱ tso̱ṅ ti̱ cīpo mi̱ntuk. tsa̱r sā ja̱ṅa tu̱k. tsa̱r sā tso̱ma tu̱k. tsāaṅ tso̱ma tu̱k. ā! o̱raṅla āṅtśuni tu̱k, o̱raṅ tśi̱ni ñü̱ak. ko̱kpo o̱ti[ni] tso̱ṅtu te̱n tśhakti, ke̱ tśi̱ko?! tsa̱rla te̱n tśha̱kna, ka̱ o̱ṅa", nēri, jōkpokoi pēmpola śü̱ruk nā.

(111) pēmpoko te̱ni nāṅparko la̱psaṅ sāla si̱ktu phep.

(112) sājala ka̱moma si̱ktu phewi ka̱ṅla, tso̱ṅ tśhokki sākota to̱ka, o̱nti sāko cīpu me̱ken.

(113) ti̱k tśhoi sāko si̱ktaṅ [pēmpo], pēmpoko: "o̱na, tā chö se̱rser ṭi̱ak. ja̱, ṅa̱ tsa̱rla te̱to", nēri, te̱ni tsa̱rla lo̱k cēri pheptuk nā.

(114) te̱ tsa̱rla te̱ni, te̱ni tsa̱rla cērika, te̱ni tu̱ru te̱tuk.

(115) te̱ni ta̱ṅpo khaṅpa sö̱i ka̱ṅkola, ñēnla "ṭāśi ti̱ṅ" nēri ṭē ti̱wi khaṅpa ti̱ sö̱ruk nā.

(116) tā ta̱nta "ṭāśi ti̱ṅ" nāken khaṅpako o̱ti ra̱k.

(117) tā khaṅpa tsāwako, o̱ti ca̱pcawa, tā tso̱ṅni tsārla cēri, te̱nini: "o̱raṅla māk lēpṅo, ke̱ tśi̱ṅo?! te̱ni o̱raṅ o̱nti sö̱ko. o̱raṅla ji̱na, tā mākkar sö̱ko. tā te̱ni ṭa̱ me̱joṅken sö̱ko", nēri, te̱ni si̱mkaṅ thöntu śa̱wa ra̱k.

(118) ñēnla ṭe ti̱ṅ śa̱śawa, te̱ni [ē] o̱nti śa̱, "si̱mkaṅ thönti" nēri.

(119) kho thompola tu̱k, nēri, "si̱mkaṅ thönti" nēa o̱ṅko ra̱k, o̱ntila.

(120) ta̱nta o̱nti khaṅpa ti̱la tāru ṭo̱na, te̱ni tu̱ak ca̱p tśhoktśok, ta̱ ca̱p tśhoktśok khaṅpa ma̱na me̱ka ra̱k, o̱nti khaṅpala tāru ṭo̱na.

(121) te̱ "si̱mkaṅ thöntu" nāken o̱nti śa̱wa ra̱kta.

(122) te̱ o̱nti tü̱konini tā mi̱tok ma̱ṅpo ja̱ṅ, mi̱tok śi̱ ṅa̱ śīk, tā si̱mkaṅ ṭē tsīkoru te̱ni pēmpo si̱ntita te̱tuata.

(123) tā ra̱ntśala tā o̱ntila tā pēmpotse si̱nti te̱tuk.

(124) onti tükoni te ṭē tsīkoru jaṅ pisa sūm cēruk, jaṅ, jaṅ, ṭēśi tsēkoru.

(125) pisa sūm cēi kaṅkola, pisa tśīk ñīśai pēmpola, pisa tśīk ti julki pēmpo, pisa parmako [ē] pöla teni ṭawala tāruk, jaṅ.

(126) te ṭawala tāri, on tśiti kaṅkola, teni tśhö tshemi lāp, ke tśi.

(127) teni ṭawa pākka tśiri, ori, teni turu lēpti, ke tśiti kaṅkola, teni ṭawako lokken tśōkra tśīk tśui tshö tukta.

(128) lokpi tshö tukta, ṭawako.

(129) ṭawa ṭhik loki kaṅla, ke tśiruk nēsuṅ nāna, teni, teni: "cu panta tśik tśēme tērok tśi!" nāken tśōkra tśīk nērukta.

(130) teni "pālken ṭöcawa" nērukta, minkola.

(131) tā pöla sōri, teni, ṭawa tśiri, mala lokti oṅko.

(132) teni "cu panta tērok tśi!" nēi kaṅla - āśokoni ñīśala ñīśa pēmpola, nooko turu parákaon pēmpola -, teni pisa parmakola tā keaṅ meken tśusuṅta.

(133) khoni ṭawa lokti sō.

(134) ke tśii kaṅla, tā: "phama! ṅala cu tśēme śīk tērok tśi!"

(135) ke tśi nīi kaṅlani, āśo raṅ no, ñīwoki: "khola tshemeki tśhöcak tśūkpen. tshemi khartsa tāwen. khola khartsa tāṅ thup möjoṅ", nēri, nērukta.

(136) onti nēi kaṅkolani: "ona, ṅala phok len taṅ, mōlam len, jin! tā ṅala keaṅ mökoak. ṅala mōlam tśīk tśīka nāṅrok tśi! ṅa āśo raṅ no ñīwoi cu ti ṅala tsāni mökoak. teni jap taṅ jum ñīwoki cu ti ṅala tsā[wa]ni mökoak. ṅala khali mōlam tśīk tśīka nāṅrok tśi!" nēri, teni mōlamko śü.

(137) ke tśiti kaṅkola, teni tā juko maṅpo ö tshö tukata.

(138) tā onti tükoni tsumlaṅ cewoni jaṅ onti palwi cewo śūk tśhe öti tshö tuk, jaṅ.

(139) teni juo maṅpo tēri, ke tśiti kaṅkola, pho choka juoko, pālken ṭöcawa juoko kōpteri kū̄.

(140) phok nākenko, cu nākenko keaṅ mase, mōlam leṅken tśīk mana.

(141) teni palola tiṅi sō.

(142) o, teni paloni jala lokti oṅi kaṅla, mānaṅ tsho sūmki pēmpo, tolo tu tśheki pēmpo, teni ti [ē] mūstaṅki pēmpo, parakaoni pēmpo, teni pēmpo pūra khoi seri o ruk, jaṅ, pālken ṭöcawakoki.

(143) teni seri oṅi kaṅkola, teni sū tśīka tā ke tśi mū-thuwa, teni kho pēmpo tśuruk.

(144) teni pēmpo tśuṅtsül ti ke tuk, nāna, tanta teni jultu teni teni kowa leka kala to kōnaaṅ, kala the kōnaaṅ ṅa the köcie?!

(145) chimpumu kowala, cēcalki kowalaaṅ, taśaṅki kowalaaṅ, jārtuṅki kowalaaṅ, teni kowa pūra tśuṅkenko teni tsāwako onti tśuwa rakta.

(146) kho ṭawakoika juo up kū̄ri sōri, teni kho

ca̱lti te̱tukta.

(147) te̱ o̱n tśi̱ri, te̱ni ta̱nta śe̱n ṻ tśhötini ja̱ntśi e̱ke kḣaṅpa tśīi sā li̱ṅtse [jār] (te̱a) thukpa te̱ o̱ntini tśu̱ṅkenkoni, te̱ni si̱mkaṅ ṭāśi ti̱ṅko sāptśe o̱ntini pē.

(148) te̱ni e̱ke ti̱ko ti̱ni ja̱la li̱ṅ pēri, ta̱nta ti̱ni ja̱la li̱ṅ o̱ṅkenko te̱ni ṅa̱la tsāwako o̱n ti̱ni tśu̱wa ra̱kta.

2.1.2. Translation of the narration

(1) Once upon a time in Lō there was a (King) by the name of "Lō Ce̱wo", isn't that so?.

(2) As he (the King) was called "King of Lō", the King of Lō was very powerful, because the King of Lō was very famous, (he) had great privileges.

(3) At that time the King of Tsu̱mlaṅ was more clever, (and) if I recount what he did, (he) said, "Until (I) seize the Lō district, there will be something amiss. This (King of Lō) has gained too much power. Later (he) will attack our position here," whereupon two brothers named "Thakkuri" were sent to Lō on behalf of the King of Tsu̱mlaṅ, isn't that so?

(4) As two brothers were sent to Lō, it occured, that it was our two brothers that were called "Tśa̱mpal Thukci".

(5) As soon as (they) had arrived in Lō then, the two brothers stayed there.

(6) (They) asked to enter the service of the King of Lō.

(7) While (they) were staying there they did everything in their power, at that time they had to be very skilful and capable, over there (in Lō).

(8) So (they) were capable.

(9) (They) worked on yak pens, (they) worked on pens for yak cows, (they) worked on goat pens, and when (they) had completely finished those, the story goes, what was to be said about Lō, (the King of Lō etc.) said, "Yes, they will become more powerful than the King. It is (true) that (they) will become more powerful, these (brothers). These two brothers have not done well. (Until now) there was no one who was as clever and strong as these," so he discussed with (his people).

(10) At the time, that (they) discussed with each other, if (I) recount what happened, so they had there nearly all two castles, of the names "Castle of Tso̱ṅ" (and) " Castle of Kāk," erected.

(11) Now here in Dzar most probably they have built nothing except a small (house) with the name "Kōtuṅma.

(12) When (they) built, they erected the castle in Dzong (and) they erected the castle in Kag.

(13) When (they) now had finished building all the castles, upon this the King of Lō became full of grief: "The two brothers will seize the realm. Now it is not in order," so (he) thought, (and) also other things.

(14) Now the King behaved as one who was envious.

(15) Without the King, the members of the nobility of Mōntaṅ (and) then all the important people gathered together (and) spoke: "It is altogether not in order with these two brothers, as long as these two brothers have not been killed. It is now altogether not in order that these now gain. The king will, (however) not be able to capture (them)," so spoke (they).

(16) When (they) now had spoken in this way, (and) if I now recount what they did, it now happened that (one of the brothers) was sent to the King of Ladakh to fetch a wife for one of the sons of the King of Lō.

(17) As (this one) was now sent in order to fetch the wife, the elder brother stayed there in Mōnthaṅ.

(18) After the younger brother had now been sent away, in order to fetch the wife (and) after the two brothers were separated from one another, now the King of Lō had sent (the younger brother) to the King of Ladakh to fetch a wife.

(19) After (the younger) had now been sent, in order to fetch the wife, after (he) had exerted himself, (and) when (he) brought the wife back with him, then they had one here (the elder brother) already killed, (and he) was no more, the (brother) who had stayed here.

(20) After the King of Lō had crammed a ceremonial scarf into him, after (he) had crammed the ceremonial scarf deeper and deeper into (his) throat, while (he) had behaved (so) evilly toward (the brother), (he) had killed (him).

(21) Then comes (the younger Thakkuri) who had been deemed to be (in Ladakh), whereby (he) brings the wife of the King of Lō, (namely) the Princess of the King of Ladakh, with him.

(22) (The Thakkuri) has again carried out the instructions of the King exactly, and comes, in that (he) brings the wife with him.

(23) When (the younger) then arrived here, (he) spoke (to the King): "What has happened to the elder brother? He is altogether no longer here," upon which (the King) replied: "The elder brother has died because of the following reason: after having approached sickness, he has died. We have conducted rituals. If there is anything left to do, do it! Now that the elder brother has died, what will (you) do? We have conducted rituals, (and) what ever else there is." From then on, the man [i.e. the younger Thakkuri] who also had ceremoniously conducted the wife (from Ladakh), stayed in Mōntaṅ, whereby (he) always carried out exactly the instructions (of the King).

(24) Exactly as (the younger) carried out (an instruction), as (he) was occupied here and there, then (the wife) spoke in the following way - in Mōnthaṅ he will then be well, so (like) it was customary by him (in Lō or) by us, to have had an additional wife, which was not the only wife: "Don't stay here! If you stay here, (you) will surely be killed one day. (You) will certainly be killed. If (I) explain what happened: Your brother did not die in such a way. (He) did not altogether die from sickness. The King from Lō has killed (him). If you stay here, it is quite certain that (you) will one day be killed."

(25) When (they) had talked over (everything) here and there, uncertainties came into (his) thoughts, however, by then here below the castle

of Kāk was already finished, (the castle) of Tso̱ṅ was already finished, and the little (house) in Dza̱r was already finished.

(26) Then, at the time of the construction (!) (the younger Thakkuri) spoke: "Although it is so, although I live here, I would like to take refuge in the lower region. Now the King of Lō shall no longer trouble himself (over me). Now I will no longer stay here." Upon this, the King of Lō (and) his people placed before (him) the pros and cons, (and) after they had changed his mind, (they) sealed their friendship.

(27) The King of Lō and our ancestor, they swore anew their friendship.

(28) When (they) sealed their friendship then, (they) took a great oath.

(29) If (I) recount what type of oath they took, (they) said: "Until the blood of birds oozes in the earth, until birds feathers fly towards heaven, until (our) the shell of our skull turns to white dust [lit. white earth] - we do have a scalp on our heads - until it turns to white dust, there is no possibility that (we) will be on the opposite sides of a wound." In this way (they) swore anew their friendship.

(30) After it had happened in this way, three years passed there (in Lō).

(31) One day, (the Thakkuri) said : "Yes, it is not so! That my elder brother has been killed, what kind of basis (is there), that I must perform all possible services (for him) [i.e. the King], what kind of basis (is there) that I must attend to all of his work?! Now I will no longer stay here," so he thought gloomily.

(32) Scarcely had (he) thought this, then (he) said: "Now under no circumstances will I stay here."

(33) After this, (he) now had erected houses in the lower region, everything was already complete for him (there).

(34) "Now under no circumstances will (I) stay here." When (he) had thought in this way, (he) spoke (to the King): "King of Lō, King! It is something impossible for the King and the minister to swear friendship to one another. That is, it would be unlucky for the whole world, this (friendship). If it is called, 'King and Minister have sworn friendship with each other', then it is certain, as a consequence, a profane adage, unlucky. Now let us both, please, end the friendship! When (he) had said this, the King of Lō replied: "That is completely out of the question."

(35) "If you now say, that it is out of the question, now then...," (he) said..., there is - it should still always be given (him) in Mōnthaṅ - a so-named place with the name, 'Tsa̱ra Ka̱ṅ.

(36) To this (place) now, as it is called, come only birds.

(37) (The Thakkuri) trapped a bird there (and) placed (it) in the breast pocket.

(38) On one place, then, 'Tü̱ra Ka̱n is so named because, in a cemetery (like) ours, there were most probably many skulls.

(39) (He) picked up a skull crown, then (he) placed it on the head, coiled up a turban, and placed the bird in the breast pocket.

(40) "Now (I) will stay no (longer)," (he) said whereupon (he) placed the saddle on the horse (and) from there went to the King of Lō, so was it reported.

(41) "King, King! It is something impossible for the Minister and the King to swear friendship with each other. It will also be unlucky to have it as a loud adage. Now please allow (me) departure! There is no possibility that it would be in order. Now please allow (me) departure!" (he) said, upon which (the King spoke): The departure will not be granted to (you)!"

(42) "Well then, if (you) don't give (me) leave, what (then)?!" (he) said (and) spoke: "The skull bowl has gone under the earth"; whereupon he is said to have laid the skull bowl with (a loud) "tok" on the table.

(43) "Here, even the feathers of birds are flying into the sky," (he) said; whereupon (he) scattered the feathers into the air.

(44) "Even the blood of the birds is pressing into the ground," (he) said; whereupon (he) poured the blood on the ground.

(45) "Now the oath no longer binds me," (he said).

(46) Below (he) kept the horse saddled.

(47) Riding the horse, then, (he) went away (from there).

(48) When (he) had gone away, the king of Lo sent soldiers, people on the order of soldiers, those people, in large numbers on off behind (him).

(49) As soon as (the king) had sent them off, (they) are said to have caught up with (the Thakkuri), there in the vicinity of Samar.

(50) When (they) had almost caught up with (him), (the fleer) said to himself, "So, now (they)'ve almost caught up with me. They'll kill me, a single man"; whereupon (he) bound a juniper (branch) to the tail of (his) horse.

(51) (He) bound (the branch) to one side of the horse, (and hiding) on the (other) side, the man fled.

(52) When (the soldiers,) still chasing after (him), approached, (they) said, "Ah, he, this man, is already dead; (he) is no more. Ah, (the horse) without stopping has dragged (him along behind it). Now he's dead; (he) is no more. This man is dead; (he) is no more." Thereupon the people who were following (him) turned back.

(53) Then (they) went to the upland; then those (two) came out on this side of the river – the horse and the man, the two together.

(54) When (they) came out on this side of the river, that (building) of Dzong was probably the original house over there, nowadays the fortress of Dzong, all the dilapidated houses of the fortress.

(55) Once (he) was over there, (he) stayed over there.

(56) (His) real wife was (also) over there; (she) lived over there.

(57) (He) remained quite a long time, doing all sorts of things.

(58) Again the king of Lo sent out soldiers; (he) sent people out.

(59) "Go and kill (him)!" said (the king). "Now he's done all sorts of things. Go and kill (him)!" (he) said, (and) when (he) had sent (the people) out, the people are said to have encircled the house (in Dzong) all the way around – the people of the king of Lo.

(60) It is said that, having encircled (the fortress), (they) had no way to proceed whatsoever.

(61) During this time (the people) had no way to proceed, and if (I) tell what they said, (they) spoke so: "(We)'ll cut off (the people in the fortress) from fire(wood) (and) water. Then (they)'ll die of starvation." Such was the talk the warriors of the king of Lo engaged in.

(62) Then these people in the palace, it is said, truly ran low on water.

(63) The water is said to have been way low.

(64) Then, it is said, there was no more water.

(65) When there was no more water, they say the queen washed (her) hair with oil – here now, the wife of the pempo in Dzong.

(66) When (she) washed (her) hair with oil, (the besiegers said), "Apao! Even though we've encircled the palace..., what are (we) to do?! We block the water, (and) she still washes (her) hair with water; that (she) still is washing her hair! Forget it! There's no reason at all for us to remain here"; whereupon (they) returned where they came from once again.

(67) When (the soldiers) returned from there, the pempo of Dzong, that very same one, said in thought to himself, "So then nothing, it seems, will come of anything (I) do."

(68) Now, whatever (I) do, the king of Lo will not leave me (in peace). It's not likely (I)'ll be able to settle down here. The king of Lo now has too many rights. Yes, there's nothing left for me except this: Now I must go to Tsumlang," (he) said, whereupon (he) returned once more to Tsumlang.

(69) Hardly had (he) gone to Tsumlang, when (they) didn't recognize one another in Tsumlang any longer.

(70) (They) didn't recognize each other; what to do?!

(71) Having prepared a plateful of mustard seeds, (and) then several small knives, several needles (as well as) several mustard seeds, (he) is said to have offered (it all) to the king of Tsumlang, our ancestor.

(72) Hardly had (he) presented the gifts when the king of Tsumlang spoke: "Apart from today, no one has ever come (to me) to present me with such gifts."

(73) "So, a clod of earth, needles, knives, mustard seeds... Put this man in prison no matter what!" said (the king), whereupon (he) was put in prison, again by the king of Tsumlang.

(74) Hardly had (they) put (him) there in prison and done all other sorts of things, (and) had had all ministers (and) important people assembled, when (the king) spoke as they took counsel, "Today a person came to humbly present such gifts. At that (I) put the man in prison," (and)

when (he) said (that), none of the ministers and important people could make sense of those (gifts); (they) could attach no meaning (to them).

(75) Afterwards the queen, it is said, came.

(76) After the queen had come (she said) "Hah! What are (you) talking about there?" (Then,) though, the queen spoke: "(He) possesses earth comparable to this earth is what it means. Hm! Give (him) weapons comparable to these knives is what it means. Give him weapons comparable to these needles is what it means. Give him people comparable to these mustard seeds is what it means. Apart from that, there's not likely to be much to talk over with him. Give orders (for him) to come. Ask him." Thus the queen spoke about the man they had already put in prison.

(77) After (they) fetched (the man) from the prison, (and) when (they) had then asked the man, (he) said, "That's what I mean."

(78) "Give me weapons comparable to the knives and needles, I say," said (he), "give (me) weapons!" (he) said.

(79) "Give me soldiers comparable to the mustard seeds, (I) say. I have come to ask for these givens. I have not come to ask for more than these givens." Thus spoke the ancestor, (and) again (they) did not recognize one another.

(80) When (the Thakkuri) had spoken, (the king of Tsumlang) said: "That is true"; whereupon (he) did in fact give (him) the soldiers, after (they) had both understood one another [lit. after the beginning of the conversation between the two had been made].

(81) (The king) gave arrows, knives and then soldiers; (he received everything) up there from the king of Tsumlang.

(82) When (he) had given the soldiers, then, then our ancestor went up to Montang, not so?!

(83) Riding out in front, (he) made off posthaste.

(84) (The Thakkuri and his people) engaged in talk again near Montang, (and) when for some reason (he) stopped by (there), (he) invariably played a game of dice in the one village – a game of dice.

(85) (On this occasion he) said: "Montang is (like) a wooden plate full of fat. Plates of fat are licked clean by dogs, they say. It's a sign of poverty that Tsarang (and) Marang are villages of thorns, not having (true wooden) handles. Marang hangs on the rocks. It's as though Kemi has sunk into a swamp, the saying goes. Cilung is the place where all the various kinds of earth meet. Even Dzar is itself a bit better." Thus spoke the ancestor, not so?!

(86) Then, at that time, the soldiers from Tsumlang must have crossed the pass.

(87) Beating the Tiling-Putung (drums) – now, don't we beat the Tiling-Putung too?! – when (they) came beating the Tiling-Putung, (the king of Lo said): "Those are the sounds of the Tiling-Putung (drums) from Tsumlang. (The soldiers) are clearly visible in a long row on Tseci Pass"; whereupon (the soldiers) crossed the so-called Tseci Pass.

(88) When (they) had thus crossed the pass, all the soldiers of the king of Lo then came (too).

(89) Then (they) waged war, not so, over there?!

(90) When (they) waged war, then, oh woe, the soldiers of the king of Tsumlang annihilated the soldiers of the king of Lo.

(91) Then (they) killed many on the other side, (and) did all manner of other things.

(92) Then (they) killed many, (and) while (they) were doing what not, here on this side...; there must have been a bad (person) called Montanki Tshurakpa, once again – like a bad caste among us.

(93) But he, having made a carrying cloth for the back, (and) having filled chili into the cloth, scattered chili all around.

(94) But after (he) had scattered out chili all over, some number (of people) on this side are said to have been killed.

(95) Now in the place that is called Pura there is said to have been a (man) named Lama Tensin, a person who could not be pierced by arrows, knives, spears (or) whatever, at that time.

(96) (The people) are supposed to have said: "(He) is no Lama Tensin; (he) is Murderer Tensin."

(97) Apparently neither arrows, knives (nor) spears pierced that lama when (he) was waging war.

(98) After (they) had made headway back and forth, (and) when (they) had made a brief declaration...; normally, however, this whole territory of ours was under the king of Lo.

(99) Then, after (the king of Lo) had lost the war, (they) fixed the boundaries of (the territory) below Samar, (the territory of) Baragaon, (and the territory) above that (Samar), so-called Lo-Tsho-Tun, whereupon (each of the rulers) actually made peace, not letting war be waged (any longer).

(100) But after they had somehow made peace, the first people of our race settled again in Dzong, without settling either in Kag or in Dzar – the first ones.

(101) It was in Dzong, in fact, that (they) settled.

(102) Now probably there were the so-called Dzong Tharwotse (and) the Dzong Pultuntse; even today (they are) still in Dzong.

(103) The name Tse now: When people talked of Tse at that time, it probably meant the palace – at that time.

(104) Now the (people) called Tharwotse (and) Pultuntse settled in Dzong.

(105) When (they) settled in Dzong, (and) if (I) tell what (they) did: well, there was a (place) called Pensa here in the territory of Dzar.

(106) If (I) tell what went on at Pensa: Pensa (was) the place where the pempo's horse was tied, (and) lots more besides was done.

(107) At that time, then, when (the pempo's) servant daily tied the horse a bit higher up (and) tied (it) a bit lower down, he one day placed his drinking cup bottom side up (and) went off.

(108) "I'm always the one who has the worst of it. In the morning I always come to tie up the

horse; in the evening (I) always take the horse up the hill. It will be good if the pempo moves from here to Dzar," (he) said, (and,) having given thought, the servant said: "If (I) should now have the good luck of (seeing) the pempo move to Dzar, may my drinking cup be turned over (to lie) on its back [scil. with its bottom faced down]! If (I) should not have this good luck of (being able) to move to Dzar, may the drinking cup continue to stand so!" Having made (this) wish, (he) went off, taking the horse to Dzong.

(109) After (he) had taken (the horse) thither, (and) as soon as he came the next morning to tie up the horse, (he saw) the drinking cup turned on its back, since much grass had grown (overnight).

(110) The next day he, the servant, said: "Pempo, Pempo! This Dzong is not pleasant. Dzar is a more open area. In Dzar (good) types of earth meet. There is also (good) grass. Why, we have power; we could do something (with it). What do (we) get from living in this useless Dzong?! It may be better if (we) live in Dzar," (he) said; the servant gave account to the pempo in this manner.

(111) The pempo immediately took off the next day to have a look at the area.

(112) When (he) went to have a good look at the sites, the sites on the side of Dzong were narrower; those sites were not pleasant.

(113) As soon as (he) had taken a look at the sites on this side, the pempo said: "Well, what you have said is true. Yes, I'll reside in Dzar"; whereupon (he) moved back to Dzar.

(114) After (he) had moved to Dzar, to Dzar, (he) lived here.

(115) When (our ancestors) first built a house, (they) built the Tre-Diwa house, which is also called Tasi-Ting.

(116) This is the house that is nowadays called Tasi-Ting.

(117) Concerning the start of the house, concerning the building of this (house), (the pempo) said, after (he) had moved from Dzong to Dzar: "A war will surely come upon us; what shall (we) do (then)?! Now we'll build that (house). (I')ll build a war fortress, as if things were the same as in our case. Now (I')ll build something the enemy can't touch"; whereupon (the castle) Simkang-Thontu was built.

(118) First he constructed the Te-Ting (house), and then the one called Simkang-Thonti,

(119) saying, "It is 'thompo' [lit. tall]"; (in that way) it must have been named Simkang-Thonti [lit. tall house].

(120) If you go to look at that house, then there are only rooms that are made for shooting weapons from, that are made for shooting arrows from – when you go to look at that house.

(121) (He) then built the so-called Simkang-Thontu.

(122) From that time on many generations – four, five generations – maintained (the office of) the pempo in the Simkang-Te-Tsi (house).

(123) (They) quite naturally maintained (the office of) pempo in that (house).

(124) During that time three sons were born, one after the other, in the Te-Tsi (house).

(125) When the three sons had been born, one son (became) the pempo of Nisa, one son the pempo of this village [scil. Dzar], (and) the middle son for his part was sent as a monk to Tibet.

(126) (The middle son) was sent as a monk (to Tibet, and) when (he) undertook such a matter, he zealously studied the writings (and) what all else.

(127) After (he) had made a first-class monk of himself, (he) came (back) here; and when (he) arrived, having done all manner of things, he you could say he probably returned.

(128) (He) may well have returned – the monk.

(129) Hardly had the monk returned, (and) if (I) tell what (he) did, (he) said something along the following lines: "Please give (me) a small portion of the property."

(130) Now (he) was called Palken Tocawa by name.

(131) After (he) had gone to Tibet, (he) must have returned to the lower region (still) a monk.

(132) When (he) then said, "Please give (me) a portion of the property" – the older brother in Nisa (was) the pempo of Nisa, the younger brother here the pempo of Baragaon – there was nothing left at all for the middle brother.

(133) He had returned, however.

(134) When (the middle brother) had done everything imaginable, (he spoke:) "Father, Mother, please give me a bit of the property!"

(135) When (he) had said everything possible (there was to say), the elder brother and the younger brother both spoke: "(We) have put very much into (his) studies. (We) have had very many expenses. (We) are unable to incur any further expenses for him." So (they) spoke.

(136) When (they) had said that, (the middle brother) spoke: "Well, I'll take (my) property, (or) receive the blessing!" Now I need nothing whatsoever. Please give me only the blessing. I don't at all need the property of either, of (my) elder brother or (my) younger brother. The property of Father or Mother, either of them, I don't need at all. Give me only the blessing, please!" Thus (he) asked for the blessing.

(137) When (the middle son) was doing everything (he could), there must have existed many documents.

(138) During that time, moreover, the king of Palu [scil. Kathmandu] is likely to have possessed greater power than the king of Tsumlang.

(139) After (Palken Tocawa) had seen many documents, (and) when (he) had done everything that could be done, this fine fellow stole the documents; Palken Tocawa stole the documents one and all.

(140) The so-called property (he) didn't claim at all; only that (he) receive the blessing.

(141) Then (he) went directly to Palu.

(142) Well, when (he) returned from Palu to the upper region, he claimed the (status of the)

pempo of Manang-Tsho-Sum, the pempo of Tolo-Tu-Tshe, then the pempo of Mustang (and) the pempo of Baragaon – all these pempo titles for himself –, this Palken Tocawa.

(143) When (he) arrived, having claimed (everything) for himself, he became the pempo, without anyone being able to do anything about it.

(144) If (I) tell what the trademark of a pempo's status is, well whatever task in the village the (village) head has to attend to, whatever (he) has to participate in, I have to participate in – is it not so?!

(145) That's the reason that (I) have become the leader of the women (and) also the leader of the men, also the leader during the arrow festival (and) also the leader during horse races – the leader of all (these activities).

(146) After he, the monk, had stolen all the documents, he won.

(147) Once (he) had done such a thing, everything was (ours) from the Tshoti (temple in Dzar) up ṭo the spot of our one house, (everything) up (to the location of) Tea; the place (called) Simkang-Tasi-Ting was separated from that (of Tea).

(148) After everything was separated from our (house) up to here, that is the reason why everything from it on upwards belongs to me.

2.2. The history of the Tśa̱mpal Thukci clan as narrated by Sōnam Pālce edited and translated by Monika Kretschmar

2.2.1. Text of the narration

(1) tso̱ṅ pūltuṅ hritarki ti̱ khaṅpa tśhompa ti̱ ta̱kpo jo̱.

(2) tso̱ṅ pūltuṅ ṭhowo ce̱woki te̱ni o̱ti sö̱ruk nā.

(3) "tā ke̱śin ṅa̱ e̱la lō ce̱wi tsāla te̱ni śaptśi pūlwen. te̱ni ṅa̱ ti̱ [tōla te̱ni] tō̃ [ro̱ṅ] po̱ṅ ti̱ tsho ku̱ni tsha pa̱ppen. mē ro̱ṅ ti̱ kōrni tśūñine tu̱ tō̃mpa ji̱n. te̱ni ta̱ta - ka̱ni - ri̱a ka̱ṅpola te̱ni ti̱ ṭi̱ṭoṅ, ra̱ṭoṅ, jākṭoṅ, lu̱kṭoṅ ka̱ṅpo ti̱ṭe tshari te̱ ö̱."

(4) te̱ni ta̱ta ti̱ śu̱kla te̱ni lō ce̱woki ja̱ṅ khola tu̱kpo tāṅ, ke̱n tśi̱ri ja̱ṅ.

(5) te̱ni kho te̱ tā ma̱la thönkola pa̱ptuk nā.

(6) tā tu̱ruaṅni cēmen ö̱ken, mu̱ruaṅ - thol śākti - na̱ṅsa tśīk ö̱ken.

(7) ō, te̱ni kho ma̱la lo̱kti o̱ṅaraṅ, "tā ti̱ ma̱tśusuṅta. papa! ṅi̱ lo̱ṅo tü̱n ū̃ru śaptśi [pūli] śü̱ri te̱ti, ta̱ta ṅa̱la ti̱re tu̱kpo [tāṅtu] tāri me̱tala, tu̱ru te̱ thupsa mi̱ntuk", se̱nten, te̱ni kho ti̱la tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wi tsāla [sō] sōruk ō, tā ti̱ni ma̱la.

(8) te̱ te̱riṅ, tā te̱riṅ ko̱moko te̱ni tu̱ru te̱.

(9) khola tu̱kpo ñu̱ṅta.

(10) te̱ni tu̱ru te̱ti, te̱ni khoraaṅ śa̱kpo sūm te̱.

(11) śa̱kpo sūm te̱ni, tāni, "ma̱tśusuṅ. tā ti̱la ṅa̱ tśīk cītuk śīk śü̱ru ṭo̱na, ṭi̱k nā, te̱ tsu̱mlaṅ

c̱ewi tsāla", kho, "ṭo̱ki ji̱n", se̱ntuk.

(12) ō, te̱ni kho sorukta, ma̱la, thulla.

(13) ō, te̱ni o̱nṭe tśi̱ri sōri, te̱ni ma̱o [pu̱kluṅ tā pu̱kluṅ] pu̱kluṅna lēp.

(14) pu̱kluṅni ce̱nla śu̱ktuk nāta, tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo ju̱lkola.

(15) te̱ni tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wi [lu̱k] ju̱lkoru te̱ni khori o̱turu lēwi ka̱ṅla, te̱ni po̱mo tśhu tśhüken śīk ṭhetuk nā, tā khola.

(16) te̱ni tśhu tśhükenko ṭhetaraṅni, "ha, po̱mo! chö sūi tśhu tśhüa?" nāraṅni, "ṅa̱ kharki tśhu tśhüen", se̱nti nērukta, khola.

(17) tā kho mi̱ - tā śīkla - [ka̱jin ce̱wo] ko̱a si̱ṅ si̱ṅ ra̱ śīk - o̱ṭe tśōkra śīk - ōno, mi̱ko so̱kola tāna.

(18) "te̱ni chö kharki tśhu tśhüna, tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo te̱n tśhaktuwe?" se̱rnani, "te̱n tśhawi ö̱. kūṭak mi̱ṭakcaaṅ tsa̱ṅe ö̱. tsīmojaaṅ tsa̱ṅe te̱n tśhak ö̱", nēri nēwi tshö tu̱k nā.

(19) "o̱na, [āwo] ōwo, ōwo, āśo! ṅa̱la ti̱ ki̱kre cākti tērok tśi̱!" nēri nē tshö tu̱k, tā tśhu tśhüken po̱moko.

(20) "te̱ni o̱na, chö, ki̱kre ti̱ cāk, nāna, khoṅpe tsa̱ṅe te̱n tśhaknani, chö tśhui kha ṭi̱la me̱me ṭi̱ kāktora ṭi̱ [tsūk] (tśūk) ō!" [nīk] se̱ntuk.

(21) te̱ kātorakoi na̱ṅtu tśīktu [tshup] (tshuk) mūṭu ka̱ṅ, tśīktu khap ca̱wa mūṭu ka̱ṅ, tśīktu sāwa mūṭu ka̱ṅ, tśīktu sēr mūṭu ka̱ṅ, tā khoi lūkti tārukta.

(22) te̱ni, "ū̄ru pōaraṅ, me̱mei, ka̱le tśi̱la - ka̱ ji̱nna - pōk! ma̱pöa tśi̱la pōk!"

(23) te̱ni, ka̱ ji̱nna, "o̱ktuni mi̱ o̱ṭe śīk tu̱k. te̱ni ti̱ - ke̱ ji̱nna -, "'tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo te̱n tśhaktuwe?' nīk. ṅa̱ 'kharki tśhu tśhüen' nēwen. te̱ni mi̱ o̱nṭe tśi̱wa tśīk lēptuk. te̱ni o̱ṭe śīk kūr. te̱ni kātora śīk kūrsuṅ. te̱ ti̱ kātora na̱ṅtu ti̱ ke̱ na̱i?" nēri, te̱ni, "'hala si̱ktok pūl. te̱ni khoṅpe si̱kka na̱k' (nīk)", nēri nāraṅ, te̱ni ñākola lēwaraṅ, tā te̱ tshö tē ö̱ṭo nā.

(24) te̱ tēaraṅni, tā tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wo ta̱ṅ tśe̱ te̱ni kūṭak mi̱ṭak ta̱ta tā pēmpoja ta̱ṅ khoṅ mi̱ ṭa̱k ṭakaja tēri, "ha, ti̱ni tshempu tshemkenki khap na̱k. ṭi̱ni mu̱rku tsīrkenki tshuk na̱k. ṭi̱ni sāwa mūṭu ka̱ṅ tu̱k. e̱raṅla sāwa ko̱mni nā mi̱nto, hai?! ā, ṭi̱ni ja̱ṅ - ke̱ ji̱naṅ - sēr mūṭu ka̱ṅ tu̱k. sērni tōktokko na̱k", nēri, te̱ni ta̱wo tśō̄ me̱ñüa na̱k, o̱ti khoṅ śi̱wo na̱ṅkoru, pēmpo ra̱ṅ te̱i mi̱serki na̱ṅtu.

(25) [te̱ni cēm...] tā le̱ki ṭheti ö̱ti tshö na̱ke?!

(26) te̱ni le̱ki ṭheloṅ, "pa̱pa re̱! ti̱ ke̱ na̱i, ti̱?! ti̱ ṭa̱ tśō̄ me̱ñüen, ṭu̱ru cherle tśi̱! ka̱na, ka̱re ṭu̱o, tāo. ṭu̱ru cherle śīk!" nēri, te̱ni nērukta.

(27) ho, te̱ni cherti o̱raṅka, te̱ni, "āmao! ke̱ nā?! ce̱wo ra̱ṅ tśe̱, te̱ pa̱ṅ mi̱ser ta̱ṅ tśe̱, ē kūṭa mi̱ṭa tśi̱ri, ti̱ ṭa̱ tśō̄ mēśeken! ti̱ khap ca̱wa ṭi̱ni, khola ṭi̱ ra̱ṅ ṭu̱ak nōṅ, nā na̱kta, māk ca̱pkenla. ti̱ tshuk ṭi̱ni, khola mēmi tōṅ, nā na̱k. ti̱ sā mūṭu ka̱ṅpo ṭi̱ni, kho māk ca̱pken sāptśe nōṅ, nā na̱k. ti̱ sēr mūṭu ka̱ṅpo ṭi̱ni tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wola tśhak pūl nā", nēri, cēmenkoi la̱msaṅ ṭako tśō̄tuk nā.

(28) "āpi śāto! ē, śōk [nā], śōk, nō̄ śīk! o̱nti mi̱ko, śōk, nō̄ śīk!" se̱r.

(29) te̱ni la̱msaṅ po̱ru tāi tshö tu̱k.

(30) tā khoni ko̱rtsaru tā si̱n te̱ tshö ra̱k.

(31) tā mi̱ pe̱ kārmala tu̱lśok tśi̱wo ö̱ti tshö tu̱k, ti̱.

(32) ō, te̱ni ṭo̱raṅ, te̱ni [ko̱a hrela tśi̱wa nā], "ha, te̱ni chö ka̱ni ji̱na? ka̱la o̱wa?" nēri nēsuṅ.

(33) "ṅa̱ tso̱ṅ pūltuṅ ṭhowi ce̱wo o̱ṅa ji̱n. te̱ni ṅa̱ ti̱te tśi̱ri, ṅa̱ lō ce̱wi tsāla śiptśe ra̱ śü̱, ke̱n tśe̱. te̱ni [khoṅ] tsha ca̱p, ñērwa tśe̱."

(34) ma̱ ñērwala pö̱ruk nā, ja̱la ce̱nla.

(35) tā "tso̱ṅ pūltuṅ" nāken ti̱ni te̱riṅ nōksam tāṅtse, ka̱ṅpoko na̱ṅkar tö̱ntak ṭu̱pjaṅ ma̱na tsāni me̱ken tśi̱rika ti̱te tśi̱ruk.

(36) te̱ni [jo̱ruko] (jo̱koru): "ka̱ me̱ka tśīk tśi̱suṅ, khoṅpejai. te̱ni ṅa̱ ti̱te tśi̱ri, tā ti̱la ṅa̱ śīk ṭālen śīk tśēwe śīk cālkonam, nēwa sēmla śārik", nēsuṅ nā.

(37) " ho ho, te̱ni mi̱ śiptśe lo̱ṅo tü̱n thukpa śü̱ri mi̱, śu̱kla ka̱caru te̱ni tu̱kpo tāṅko, nāka ra̱k,..."

(38) te̱ni kho tā tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱wi tā: "ti̱re tśīme śīk o̱ṅko ma̱nak. ñīṅtśe, chöraṅ ṭa̱ ṭi̱wa lō ce̱wo ra̱ṅ chöraṅca - ñīṅtśe -, tāi thukpa ñēnsen śiptśe śü̱a na̱k, hala tshula. te̱ ti̱la ko̱mo tśi! chöraṅ ṭa̱ tśhakpo tśi̱, tśhakpo tśi̱! ji̱nnaaṅ, māk ca̱pti, ke̱ tśi̱ko?!" se̱ntuk.

(39) te̱ni khoṅpei mānawi tshö tu̱k nā.

(40) "tā tshukkola mi̱ser, mēmi, [ṭi̱kola] khapkola ṭi̱ ra̱ṅ tu̱ak, te̱ni ti̱re nōṅ", nēri, te̱ni māter ö̱ tshö tu̱k.

(41) "te̱ni te̱ tśhamṅo. chöraṅ lo̱k, ka̱p tśīk! chöraṅ le̱ki tsōwo - ka̱ni - chöraṅ tśhamkenla ö̱", se̱ntuk.

(42) te̱ni kho te̱ lo̱kti o̱ruk nā.

(43) "ha ha! tā te̱riṅ ṅa̱ lo̱kti ṭo̱ala, ṅa̱ pō̱la cīpi ñi̱mo ti̱ ṅa̱ ti̱nṭe tśi̱ri, te̱ni ṅa̱ lo̱kti ṭo̱na, nē tśhimi ca̱rtsala ṅa̱ tso̱ṅ pūltuṅ ṭhowi ce̱wola tā te̱riṅ la̱mni śāri, la̱me sīr sīr la̱ṅaraṅ, ṅala - ke̱ ji̱nnaaṅ - me̱pta śīk, ma̱r hlap hlap hlap thoṅkenki, tśhöme thoṅik. ti̱ thosuṅ nēsuṅ nāna, ō, te̱ni ke̱ ji̱nna, ṅi̱ ke̱ ji̱nna, lūntar sö̱wa ji̱n. tā ṅa̱ tśhamkentse ji̱n", se̱ntuk, te̱ kho nē po̱rti o̱ruk nāta.

(44) tā o̱ri mi̱..., ti̱, tā ti̱ ma̱o ti̱, ti̱na, ṭūptśe mēla thame mi̱ntuke?!

(45) o̱rai [nā...] nārsuṅ kheptila thaṅka tśhompo thaṅme o̱turu lēwaraṅ, te̱pa ca̱ṅ mi̱ pu̱ṭu ka̱ṅki kāki khaṅpakoni me̱, me̱pṭa śīk ma̱r hlap hlap hlap tśi̱ri thoi tshö tu̱k nā.

(46) "ja̱, tā ji̱nna ca̱ṅ, tā lō ce̱wa ra̱ṅ ñēnsen ma̱na ṭa̱ me̱. tāni tśhamsuṅ. tsu̱mlaṅ ce̱woki kā ti̱ tsöti me̱tala, ke̱ tśi̱ko?! ṅa̱ māk ca̱pje ma̱tśusuṅ. thapje ma̱tśusuṅ", se̱ntuk.

(47) te̱ni khoṅpe tśhamtuk nā.

(48) "tā chö te̱riṅ me̱pṭa ti̱ ṅa̱, la̱m sīr sīr tśi̱taraṅ, mīki thosuṅ sēna. ṅi̱ nē śīk po̱raṅ po̱ri sēna, chö te̱ni mi̱tok sūm thukpa chöraṅ tśhukpo śōk. mi̱tok sūmni halani te̱ni ja̱ṅ chö tśhukpo ma̱juṅṅo, cīpo ma̱juṅ", se̱ntuk.

(49) tā kho nē po̱ri ö̱ti tshö tu̱k.

(50) te̱ mi̱tok sūmneni..., te̱ni pu̱ṭu ka̱ṅtu tā khaṅpa te̱sako pu̱ṭu ka̱ṅ ka̱taru pa̱sarko nāra tso̱ṅtu t̀e̱ni o̱ti pa̱rakaoṅni tsha ka̱ṅpoko o̱turu lōtö tsho tü̱n tsha ka̱ṅpoko o̱turu, mēki ro̱ṅko tśǖ̱ñiki ṭu̱ ka̱ṅpo o̱turu te̱ni kho pa̱sar [sēruk] (sö̱ruk) nā.

(51) ho, te̱ mi̱tok sūm thukpa [ñēam] ma̱na nēwa mānewai?!

(52) ho, te̱ni śu̱klani, e̱raṅ..., tā o̱ti ra̱k, ṅi̱aṅ ṭe̱nik.

(53) o̱ti pu̱turu ka̱ṅtu mi̱ ku̱rtśuṅa ra̱ śīk ö̱, o̱ti ku̱k tśi̱ri cu̱kken tśi̱k.

(54) "ā, ta̱ṅponi ka̱ṅ? tā te̱ni pa̱ro pa̱rtsenki tā to̱ṅla tsha lūkci ji̱ntak. ṭe̱ lūkci ji̱ntak. ta̱tani khai? tāa me̱, mi̱jaṅ me̱, o̱ṭe ji̱ntak. ṅa̱aṅ lāri, [ku̱r] ku̱rtśu śü̱rini, [pre̱ka] (pe̱rka) tsūktika cu̱k kö̱suṅ. tā le̱ śīk ka̱ṅ tśu̱ṅki ji̱ntak?!" nēri, "me̱me ku̱rtśuṅ ku̱rtśuṅ" nēṅo.

(55) "pu̱turu ka̱ṅ ku̱rtśuṅ ku̱rtśuṅ" nēri o̱ti nēṅo, pi̱sa.

(56) o̱n ti̱ na̱k ā!

2.2.2. Translation of the narration

(1) The Pultung Hritar were the owners of this large house [i.e. the fortress of Dzong].

(2) Pultung Thowo Cewo of Dzong built this (fortress).

(3) "Previously I performed service for the king of Lo for a period of time. I brought salt down from Pong(pa)-Tsho-Ku. Wandering around in the lower valley [i.e. Nepal], (I) got grain from Tsuni. Now there exist herds of yak cows, herds of goats, herds of yaks, herds of sheep, together with pens for them, all in sufficient quantity – (it's obvious) where from."

(4) Well now, later the king of Lo treated him badly again, doing everything imaginable.

(5) There was no other possibility for him but to come down (to Dzong).

(6) Down here, too, (he) had a wife; down here, too, – if you'll pardon me – (he) had a mate.

(7) Oh, when he came back down, (he) said to himself: "Now things are not as they should be. Papa, seven years long I've done service there, (and) since (the king of Lo) has treated me badly, there's no way (I) can stay here"; whereupon he then did go to this (king), to the king of Tsumlang, from here down to the lower region.

(8) That day, that evening, (he) remained here.

(9) He had suffered a bad fate.

(10) In remaining here (in Dzong), he remained for three days.

(11) Having remained three days, (he spoke:) "It's not right. If I go to this (king) – to the king of Tsumlang – to ask (him) for these givens, then it will be all right"; (and) he spoke: "(I)'ll go."

(12) Oh, then he did really go down (to Tsumlang), down to the lower region.

(13) Oh, going in this way, (he) arrived down in Puklung.

(14) From Puklung (he) arrived up above, in the village of the king of Tsumlang.

(15) When he arrived here, in the village of the king of Tsumlang, in his wanderings, he met a girl drawing water.

(16) As soon as (he) had met the (girl) who was drawing water, (he) spoke: "Hey, lass, who are you drawing water for?"; whereupon (she) said to him: "I'm drawing water for the fortress."

(17) Now he is said to have been – on (his) horse – a dishevelled sort of man, like this one here (among us), if (you) looked at the man's appearance.

(18) "If you're drawing water for the fortress, (does that mean) the king of Tsumlang is here?" (he) spoke, whereupon (she) must have said: "(He) is here. The nobles and the important people are all here. The consorts are here too." The (girl) probably answered in this way.

(19) "Well then, Father, Father, Elder Brother, raise this jug (and) give (it) to me please!" she is likely to have said (to the man) – the girl that was drawing the water.

(20) "Well then, if you say that (I) should raise this jug, (and) if they are (now) all here, (your) grandfather puts these dishes on your water," (he) said.

(21) Then he filled the dishes, one (of them) with a handful of mustard seeds, one (dish) with a handful of thin needles, one with a handful of earth, (and) one with a handful of gold, (and) sent (the girl) away (with them).

(22) Then (he spoke): "As soon as (you) set (the jug) down, dear, be slow about it, and – whatever you do – set it down. Don't let it tip over, and put it down carefully."

(23) Then – however it was – (the girl) spoke: "Below there is a man. He says – in any case – 'Is the king of Tsumlang here?' I said: '(I)'m drawing water for the fortress.' A man of this sort has arrived now. (He) sends such a thing. Now (he) has sent a dish. Now what is in the dish?"; whereupon (she) spoke (again): "(The man says:) 'Hand it around to be looked at. Then they'll inspect (it)'"; (and) as soon as (the girl) arrived up above, (they) probably inspected (it).

(24) As soon as (they) inspected (it), (and) after the king of Tsumlang and the nobles (and) the important people, the pempos and they, the finest people, had moreover inspected (it), (they) spoke: "Hah! Those are needles for sewing seams. Those are mustard seeds to press out oil from. This here is a whole handful of earth. (He) can't be saying that we should stick the earth in (our) mouths, can' he?! Ah, this on the other hand – in any case – is a whole handful of gold. The gold is the best"; whereupon (they) could not determine the meaning of these four things, among the pempo and his subjects.

(25) (They) must have met as a result of (their) karma, not so?!

(26) It was time that (they) should have met as a result of (their) karma. Then (the queen) spoke: "Papa re! What the deuce is it, that thing? Unable to determine the meaning... go bring it here. (I) want to see what it's like (and) what it is. Go bring it here."

(27) Oh, as soon as (they) brought (the dish, she) spoke: "Amao! That the king and the subjects

and eh, those who are the nobles (and) important people, do not know how to assign the meaning! These thin needles signify that (you) should give him knives and weapons to wage war. These mustard seeds signify that (you) should send him soldiers. This whole handful of earth signfies that (you) should give him territory for waging war. This handful of gold (he) delivers reverently to the king of Tsumlang." With that the woman had immediately assigned the meaning.

(28) "Father's flesh! Well, tell (him he) should come, should come. Tell that man that he should come," spoke (the king).

(29) Then (someone) must have been sent immediately to summon (him).

(30) Now he was likely standing at the entrance, holding the horse.

(31) The man was indeed likely to have been one who was extremely favoured by fortune.

(32) Oh, as soon as (he) went, (the king) spoke: "Hah! Where have you come from now? Why have (you) come?"

(33) "I have come as Pultung Throwo, king of Dzong. By acting so, I have performed service for the king of Lo. Then (I) carried on (trade) in salt, acted as a manager."

(34) Basically (he) was summoned as a manager, to the upper region, (to Lo).

(35) Now nothing happened except that the so-called Dzong Pultung straightaway accomplished all the tasks the next day that had been thought up that day.

(36) Then (the pempo from Dzong over there) spoke: "(They) have done a whole host of things, all of them. Given that (they) treated me so, I have wondered in (my) thoughts whether I should take a bit of revenge on this (king of Lo)."

(37) "Ho, ho! after (you) have performed service for seven years, it comes down to wanting to treat him badly at the very end."

(38) Then he, the king of Tsumlang, spoke again: "Such must not be allowed to be, not a bit. You poor man, you (have lived) in harmony (with him); (you two), the king of Lo and you – you poor man –, have performed services for one another as distant relatives. Now be good to him. Treat (him) civilly, treat (him) civilly. What does waging war bring?!"

(39) Then he [scil. the king] probably didn't give (him the things demanded).

(40) After (the pempo of Dzong) said, "Give (me) instead of mustard seeds people (and) soldiers, instead of needles knives and weapons, such things," (the king of Tsumlang) probably didn't give (these things).

(41) "Now (you)'ll get along with one another (once more). This one time you return back. Because of your fate – from where (you must know) – you have to get along (with him)"; (thus) spoke (the king of Tsumlang).

(42) Then he [scil. the pempo] did in fact return back.

(43) "Ha, ha! If I return today, (and) by doing (what I did) in the (former) happy days in Tibet, if I now return – as the Pultung Thowo king of Dzong –, directly on the way to the pilgrimage

place of Tshimi Cartsa I'll in any case see, as soon as it has very slowly dawned, a fire source, an oil lamp, that can be seen flickering steadily red. Oh, when (I) see this, oh, then – in any case – it will be – in any case – my good fortune. Then I'll become the one who gets along (with the king of Lo)"; (thus he) spoke; he then swore (such an) oath (and) came.

(44) But in coming..., now there is a plain here, here below, here underneath Tuptse, or not?!

(45) As soon as (the pempo) arrived here on a large plain, on the plain (leading to) Narsung, (he) probably really did see, from the pillar(-supported) house of Putu Kang, a fire that flickered steadily red.

(46) "Yes, there is no (longer any) enmity with the king of Lo apart from (the relationship) of distant kinship. Now (we)'ll get along. Since the king of Tsumlang has decided the matter, what can (I) do about it?! It's not right for me to wage war now. It's not right to argue," (he) spoke.

(47) Then they got along with one another.

(48) "Now today – I can't get over it – as soon as it slowly dawned, I saw this fire source with (my own) eyes. Now that I have sworn an oath, may you be rich for three generations. For more than three generations you'll not be rich. (You)'ll not be satisfied," (the pempo) said (to the house owner).

(49) Then he probably swore (such an) oath.

(50) Beyond the three generations then...; then he [i.e. the house owner] built up the market in Putu Kang, at the house location above Putu Kang, in Nara Tsong – the market there (with) all the salt of Baragaon, with all the salt of Tsho-Tun from upper Lo (and) with all the grain of the twelve (villages) from the lower valley [i.e. Nepal].

(51) Oh, except for three generations the pempo promised nothing – not so?!

(52) Oh, later then, we..., there was then this (one man); I too remember.

(53) In this Puturu Kang there is some man or other (who walks) bent over, a person who walks stooped.

(54) "Ah, formerly; so what? Now the salt is filled in front of the very rich. The rice is filled (in front of them). (I) have no horses, have no people; that's how it is. I too must go begging from door to door, stooped over, propping (myself) up with a stick. What kind of fate has befallen?!" said (the man); (they) call (him) Grandfather Stoop Stoop.

(55) Son, (people) talk of this (man), calling him "Stoop Stoop from Puturu Kang." [The narrator turns toward one of the people present.]

(56) That's the way it is!

2.3. Literary elements of the chronicles

The main difference between the two aforementioned narratives and the other oral narrative literature[14] lies in the fact that the narrators and listeners generally have actual historical and geographical links with the characters involved and the places mentioned. It is clear in both that the family whose history is being told is not just any family, such as often crop up in fairytales; on the contrary, this narrative is based on the still well-known family of *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal*. Of course, the beginning of the first narrative - "Once upon a time there was a (king) called Lō-King" - does not differ stylistically from that of those fairytales that sometimes try to impart greater realism by mentioning real names and settlements; yet in the case of Lō-King, in contrast with fairytales, even if no known name is mentioned, here is a historically distinct, tangible person or establishment known to the addressed audience.

Thus we find certain well known people, establishments and places within this medium of the fairytale. The literary elements of this medium, such as themes, symbols and so forth, that are used in this style of narrative and that we are unwilling to consider as historical fact, are however in this traditional context no less real to the listener than are the afore-mentioned people and settlements.

If we can now establish that the medium in which a story is told affects the account to such a great extent, that whole episodes are obviously based on inclusion of elements of well-known narrative material, we face the question of whether further factors that affect the meaning of the story are to be considered. It must also be noted that both of the afore-mentioned edited and translated narratives represent the clan history of one of the most aristocratic families of the valley. The history of this clan told here is directly related to its special status, the ideology of which is reaffirmed through the story. Thus it is obvious that the presentation of this story does not objectively preserve historical facts.

It becomes clear from the narrative of *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal* (V1) how much the ideological values in this version interfere with historical fact. In comparison with the narrative of Sonam Palce (V2), this first account (V1) seems more well-rounded and complete, yet this does not mean that it is more reliable from a historical point of view.

Let us examine the beginning of both stories. According to V1, the founders of the Tśampal Thukci family were two brothers the Hindu Thakuri[15] caste who emigrated from Jumla to Mustang, where they worked for the King of Mustang. They established the castles of Kag and Dzong.[16]

According to V2, the castle of Dzong was built by Pūltuṅ Ṭhowo Cewo. No indication can be found of the origin of the founders of the castle. Comparing this evidence with the results of our historical investigation, elaborated upon later, it appears that the origin of the family to be found in V1 is a later adulteration. The founder of the castles of Kag and Dzar is descended from a noble family from Tibet. His name is mentioned in historical sources as *Khro-skyabs, spu-druṅ Khro-skya-pa*, or *'Khro-skyabs*. The historically untenable tracing of the Tśampal Thukci family to Hindu Thakuri predecessors finds a parallel with the Thakalis, of whose clan history Fürer-Haimendorf (p. 140) reports:

"Their myths of origin, contained in four books ceremonially recited once every twelve years ... point to a connection with Sinja, the capital of the Malla dynasty and subsequently the kings of Jumla. These myths state explicitly that the ancestors of the four Thakali clans lived at one time at Sinja. From there they are said to have wandered eastwards as far as Dhaulagiri and unable to cross the range, stayed for a brief time at Mu (Mukot) and various other villages of Dolpo, and then crossed over into the Kali Gaṇḍaki valley ..."

With the integration of the Muktināth Valley into the sphere influence of Jumla, and its later inclusion in the Hindu Kingdom of Nepal, its inhabitants, descended from an old, west-Tibetan aristocratic lineage, became socially subordinate to a more highly-ranked caste of Hindu origin. A corresponding alteration of the clan's history was inevitable. Similar changes or alterations on a much greater scale have been found in the historical literatures of Mongolia and Tibet. For example, one well-known history traces the Tibetan royal house of the *Yar-kluṅs* dynasty back to the Indian King Mahāsammata, and another talks of the ancestors of Ćinggis *qan* as being descendants of Tibetan kings.

It must be noted that narrative 2, although from a literary standpoint clumsy and imperfect, again names the founder of the clan of the former *dPon-po* of the Muktināth Valley, and also gives almost exactly the same title and name for the castle founder. Thus criteria such as greater literary completion, or the membership of the narrator to the clan whose story is being told, cannot in general be taken as evidence for greater historical authenticity.

In 1985 *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal* told me his family story once again (V3). As he had hitherto conversed with me in the Lhasa dialect, he automatically chose this dialect for the narration. The main difference between this version and that recorded by M. Kretschmar is that *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal* here omitted or abbreviated certain sections of the plot, obviously because of the circumstances in which the narration took place. It was morning, the narrator had only just got up, and no additional audience was present. Apart from these omissions, however, the content of this version does not differ significantly from that of the version recorded by M. Kretschmar. Thus we can consider the accounts of *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal* fairly consistent.

I also asked *'Ćhi-med-rdo-rje*, the father of Rajendra, our assistant from Dzarkot, who was born in 1913 into a collateral line of the Tśampal Thukci clan, to tell me this clan history (V4). This version includes only two of the principal elements of the plot of V1, namely the incidents that led to the immigration from Dzong to Dzar, and those that led to the intervention of the King of Jumla, and the resulting military conflicts. In the following, individual sections of the plot of V1 are reported, and the discrepancies between V1 and V2-V4 pointed out. Apart from those discrepancies noted, these versions agree in general with V1.

1. The King of Jumla sends two brothers of the Thakuri caste to Lo, to cause harm to the powerful king of that land.

[Missing in V2 and V4. V3 merely mentions that the brothers came from Jumla.]

2. The two brothers enrol in the service of the King of Lo. They are very good at their work, and so become greatly envied by others. They build the castles in Kag and Dzong. The King of

Lo is very anxious about the strength of their position, and broods over their motivations. He therefore sends one of the two brothers to Ladakh, to fetch a wife for one of his sons. He then kills the remaining brother, by stuffing Khataks down his throat.

[V3 does not mention the King's plan to deprive the two brothers of their power. No reference is made at the beginning of either V3 or V4 to the envy of others. According to V3, the noblemen of Lo suggest the departure of one of the brothers, in order to murder the one who stays behind. V3 does not mention by what method he will be killed. According to V4, the two are called Bir phumpa and Tshewang phumpa. In this version, the King decides to separate the two, because together they are too powerful. He has the remaining brother murdered by an arrow. The corpse of the victim is kept in salt, to preserve it until his brother's return. According to V2, the men of the castle of Dzong had the clan name Pūltuṅ Hritar. The founder of the castle, Pūltun Ṭhowo ce̱wo, had a profitable business dealing in salt and grains . He left the service of the King of Lo after seven years, because the King treated him so badly.]

3. The other brother returns with the bride, to learn from the King that his brother has died due to illness. His second wife, who lives in Lo, tells him the truth regarding the cause of his brother's death, and warns him against staying in Lo. He decides to leave the country, but the King of Lo persuades him to stay, binding him with an apparently indissoluble oath of friendship, thus: as long as bird-blood does not ooze into the earth, bird-feathers do not fly heavenwards and the scalp does not become white earth, the relationship between the King and the brother must continue.

[Omitted in V2. In V3, the wording of the oath is not mentioned. According to V4, the returnee finds his brother's preserved body and decides to feed it to the birds. As the corpse is being chopped up, he notices that his brother has been murdered with an arrow.]

4. In order to dissolve the oath that binds him to the King of Lo, he uses trickery to bring about the events that nullify the oath: he lays a scalp on the table before the King, throws bird-feathers into the air and pours bird-blood onto the ground. He then flees.

[Omitted in V2 and V4. V4 mentions only the flight.]

5. In order to lead his pursuers astray, he ties to his horse's tail a juniper branch that drags on the ground. It is assumed that the pursued has been dragged to his death by the horse, and the chase is abandoned.

[Omitted in V2, V3 and V4.]

6. After the Pēmpo returns to Dzong, the King sends soldiers from Lo, who lay siege to Dzong castle and cut off the besieged from all water supplies. When all the water in the castle has been used up, the Pēmpo's wife washes her hair with oil. The siege-layers think that their strategy of blockading water has failed, and give up the siege.

[Omitted in V2 and V4.]

7. The Pēmpo makes his way to Jumla. There he sends the King a plateful of earth, along with some small knives, some needles and a lump of earth. The King of Jumla is offended by this wretched gift, and has him thrown into jail.

[According to V2, the Pēmpo meets a maidservant in the King of Jumla's village, fetching water for her master. He questions her about her master, and sends with her four plates, on which

he has put respectively a fistful of earth, a fistful of needles, a fistful of mustard seed and a fistful of gold. When the maid presents these four plates to the King, he consults with his ministers as to the probable significance of this gift.
In V4, the Pēmpo presents the King with a lump of clay, in which he has put a small golden knife and a handful of sesame seed. The King, angered by the gift, has him locked up and beaten.]

8. When the Queen sets her eyes on the presented gifts, she immediately interprets their symbolic meaning correctly: the lump of earth means that he owns land; the mustard seed means that he must be given soldiers; knife and needles represent the wish for weapons. The Pēmpo is summoned. He confirms the Queen's interpretation, and asks the King of Jumla for help. The King accedes to his wish and places soldiers at his disposal.
[According to V2, the Pēmpo is not thrown into prison, but summoned before the council of the Queen, who had understood the meaning of the gift. In her presence he explains the symbolic meaning of each of the gifts to the royal household. The Pēmpo recounts his story to the King and asks for his help to take revenge on the King of Lo for the bad treatment he has received. The King of Jumla refuses the requested military aid and asks the Pēmpo to settle his differences with the King of Lo.
[According to V3, the Queen does not discern the actual symbolic meanings of the gifts, but guesses that the Pēmpo's must be a special case, and so has him summoned.
According to V4, the Queen has the lump of earth broken up, and the golden knife and the sesame seed are discovered. As in V1, the Queen interprets their symbolic meaning correctly.]

9. A war breaks out between Jumla and Lo, described in the differing episodes of V1, the sense of which is, in portions, difficult to understand. Eventually peace is made, which results in the secession of Baragaon to Jumla. The Pēmpo settles down in Jong as the ruler of this district.
[In V3 and V4, it is reported that the sole cause of the war is the oath, and results in the secession of Baragaon. There is no account of the details of the war.
[According to V2, the Pēmpo returns to Muktināth alone. At dawn he spies a flickering fire, which he takes as a sign that it will be possible to make peace with the King of Lo. The conclusion in V2 is made up of not wholly clear accounts of salt trading and the impoverishment of the Pēmpo's family.]

10. A servant of the Pēmpo living in Dzong grazes his master's horse each day in the area in which present-day Dzar is located. The daily walk to the pasture is too long for him. He places a goblet upside-down on the ground and makes a wish that they might move, if he finds the goblet turned the other way up the next day. The grass grows a great deal that night and so he finds the goblet the other way up the next day. He manages to persuade his master to move to Dzar, where he again builds a big castle.
[Omitted in V2.
In V3, the later move to Dzar is mentioned, the reason given being that the soil is better in Dzar. According to V4, this move took place before the previously described dispute with the King of Lo. At that time, the later lords of the Muktināth Valley were servants of a family in Dzong, for whom they tended the horses in Dzar. At that time one of the ancestors of the later Pēmpo decided to settle down in the Dzar area. The miraculous incident of the overturned goblet was the deciding factor: he would move to Dzar if the goblet had been overturned by the next day. As

the goblet was overturned in the night by the fast-growing grass, he went ahead and moved to Dzar.]

11. One of the descendants of the Pēmpo has three sons. Of these, one becomes Pēmpo of Manang and another Pēmpo of Baragaon, but the middle son, Pālken t̠ocawa, is sent to Tibet, where he is supposed to become a monk. After some time, Pālken t̠ocawa returns to South Mustang and demands his share of inheritance. The other two brothers refuse his demands. From then on, he asks them only for their blessing. He steals the legal documents of the noble family and goes to Kathmandu, where he can make a public claim with the stolen title documents. He returns to Mustang and crowns himself the Pēmpo of Manang, T̠olo ṭu tśhe, under Baragaon and Mustang. Thus he becomes Pēmpo.
[Omitted in V2, V3 and V4.]

The main theme of the narration V1, that is, the endeavour to get rid of an undesirable, stylistically resembles the type of fairytale (similar to Aarne 461) also commonly found in Tibet[17], for example, that narrated by a storyteller from Lhasa, "The Precious Sandalwood" (Schuh, pp. 127-134):

A poor youth rises to the position of minister. The Prime Minister is afraid of his rival, and wants to get rid of him. He prevails upon the King to set the youth an impossible task, in trying to fulfil which he will perish abroad. The youth fulfils this and other impossible tasks, and eventually punishes the Minister and the King.

This type of fairytale is common amongst the cattle-breeders of western Tibet (Kretschmar 2, pp. 23-40, "The Extraordinary Boy"). Another version was recorded in Dingri (Herrmann, pp. 148-151, "The Evil Queen"), in which the Queen appoints the minister who insists that the task is fulfilled. Variations on this type of fairytale are also common in the Muktināth Valley. For example, the fairytales "Lhawa Dondrub" and "The Motherless Child", recorded by M. Kretschmar in Dzar (Kretschmar, pp. 70-76 and 183-195), have also been compared. This type of fairytale has left a mark on the classical Tibetan written literature with the story of the youth *Padma-'od-'bar*.

In contrast with these fairytales, however, in V1, the theme of the removal of an undesirable does not involve the fulfilment of an impossible task. On the contrary, the removal is attempted here by the use of trickery: while one brother is sent to Ladakh, the one who stays at home is removed. The remaining brother becomes bound to the King of Lo by an indissoluble oath of friendship, and so cannot take revenge for his brother's murder, or harm the King for other reasons.

The theme of revenge or punishment, which crops up in many versions of the Aarne 461 type of fairytale, plays a dominant role in V1. There are also a great number of tricks that, as is common in fairytale, determine the course of the plot: the ending of the indissoluble oath being brought about by using trickery to simulate the incidents that cause the oath to become invalid[18]; the simulation of the death of the pursued during his escape[19]; the outwitting of the siege-layers by the washing of hair with oil, implying the availability of a supply of water.[20]

The removal of a (real or fictitious) dangerous rival obviously cannot be viewed as a historically exceptional incident; thus the historical feasability of the description of the death of one of the

brothers in the given context need not at first be disputed. Furthermore, the use of oaths is confirmed in both persisting and more recently established legal systems found in various parts of Tibet nowadays.[21] On the other hand, the description of the dissolution of the oath and the escape demonstrates the extent to which elements of fairytale-telling style affect the account in V1.

This is also evident in the account of the making of the alliance with Jumla, in which omens and symbols are used as stylistic devices. The same applies to the account of the move from Dzong to Dzar, in which the decision is concluded by the occurrence of events considered impossible. Furthermore, a very similar example on the theme of deciding factors occurs in the legend of the founding of Lubra, a village situated very close to Dzar, in both the oral and the written versions of the legend. Ramble translates this part of the legend as follows (Ramble 1, p. 276):

> "Then he put two small needles into the earth to determine whether or not he should found a village. He put an inverted basket over them, and when he looked after seven days the basket was full and had been raised so that it did not touch the ground."[22]

1.2.4. Historical assessment of the narrative accounts

The first question to be considered here is whether and to what extent it is possible, without consulting additional historical sources, to arrive at genuine, established historical facts by historical and critical assessment of narratives of the type under discussion. This issue is also of great significance, in that the question of the value of the oral tradition in historical investigation of the histories of illiterate communities is increasingly coming under discussion in Nepal.[23]

The most obvious system to apply to those accounts regarded as consistent (V1, V3 and V4) would seem to be to question the historical validity of all the incidents and sections of the plot that the narrators themselves occasionally leave out. We can also omit those sections that can be seen as typical elements of fairytales, such as the account of the giving of the symbolic presents to the King of Jumla, or the deciding factor in the move to Dzar. In our case, this leads to the following skeleton plot:

Two ancestors of a *dPon-po* family now living in the Muktināth Valley are subjects of the King of Lo, and work for him. The King's ministers, like the King himself, are afraid of the power of these two brothers. One of the two is sent to Ladakh. In his absence, the one who stayed at home is murdered. The surviving brother flees to Jumla, where he enters into an alliance with the King of Jumla, in order to take revenge on the King of Lo. This results in the separation from Lo of the Muktināth Valley, to become ruled by descendants of the surviving brother under the sovereignty of Jumla. At a later date, the *dPon-po* moves from Dzong to Dzar.

However, it would be naive to assume that with such a skeleton plot one had now established a historically reliable account of the facts. Of course, it can not be assumed that the only influence of the fairytale medium is the enrichment of historical material with elements of fairytale style as an abstract literary pattern which induces subsequent action. This would be a careless underestimation of the formative strength of the most important fairytale elements, that is, of the

themes, such as an action from an isolated abstract situational model used in regard to a connection with a real or supposed incident.

If we now compare the above skeleton plot with the results of the historical analyses to be described below, this formative strength in the linking of separate incidents into a complete story becomes particularly clear. It turns out that the younger of the brothers who founded the castles of the Muktināth Valley was indeed slain during an argument with the King of Lo. However, whereas this event, and the foundation of the castles of the Muktināth Valley, occurred in the second half of the 16th century, the dispute between the *rJoṅ-dpon* of the Muktināth Valley and the King of Lo, leading to the separation of the Muktināth Valley from Lo and its integration into Jumla, dates from the 17th century at the earliest. Thus we see that between the two main elements of the narrative chronicle, linked in the story by the theme of revenge for murder, there is absolutely no historical connection; on the contrary, there lies between the two events an interval of more than hundred years!

The above demonstrates the failure of an attempt to base critical analysis on narrative chronicles of the type presented, founded only on internal criteria, and produce reliable historical accounts. In the case in question, the narrative chronicles are compared as historical sources with written historiographical sources that classify documents and the remaining relics, showing the worth of the former as historical sources to be very slight. Reliable information regarding the history of the Muktināth Valley cannot be obtained from them alone. This is also true for the question posed at the outset, that is, whether it is possible to discover the origin of the Tibetan enclave in the Muktināth Valley using the narrative chronicles as sources.

This conclusion should give rise to thought in those cases in which comparable orally handed-down stories, or their later written records, are the only historical sources. This applies, for example, to the material from the region of Thakali culture in the south of the Muktināth Valley, referred to by Vinding and Ramble. Exclusive use of this material for historical research would certainly only produce very inadequate results.

Notes

1 Snellgrove, pp. 199-203.
2 Tucci, pp. 66-67.
3 Ramble, p. 207.
4 Jackson 2, p. 207, footnote 45.
5 Jackson 2, p. 202.
6 Fürer-Haimendorf, p. 152.
7 Schuler, p. 13.
8 Vinding, pp. 184-
9 Schuler, pp. 157-
10 Kretschmar, p. 421.
11 Ramble, p. 106.
12 Schuler, p. 157.
13 Ramble, p. 122.
14 See Kretschmar 1.
15 Regarding the Thakuris, see Fürer-Haimendorf, pp. 274-
16 Schuler (pp. 157-158) reports on one of these fundamentally similar - at least, as far as the origin of the Tśampal Thukci family is concerned - versions of the family's history. Thus it is very surprising when Ramble (p. 122), with clear reference to the oral tradition, states the following: "There are a number of different noble clans, the most important among them being Jampal

Thogyal ('Jam-dpal thog-rgyal). The seat of this clan is now at Dzar, and its members are said to have provided kings for the region 'in old days'. They claim to be descendants of the northern immigrants - probably from Gunthang - who settled in the thirteenth or fourteenth century and built fortifications in the Muktināth Valley." Ramble reports similarly on p. 106 of his investigation. It would appear that the author, Ramble, has here rearranged the oral sources at his own discretion.

17 This style is also found in the Mongolian fairytales. Lörincz (p. 251) classified them as Aarne 465C*.

18 Manipulation to avoid complying with oaths taken (possibly through non-analagous, absolutely literal interpretation), as well as the setting of limits on the duty to honour oaths, are moreover also known as fairytale themes. See, for example, Thomson, K 2312, K 2312.1 and K 2312.2 , and also M 136 and M 202.1.

19 See the many themes of escape by deception in Thomson, K 500-699, and in particular K 553, "Deception by feigning death".

20 This belongs to a category containing many themes, labelled by Thomson (K 1700-1799) as "Deception by bluff".

21 See Schuh 1, Paper LIV; Schuh 2, p. 422.

22 For an edition of the original Tibetan text, see Ramble, p. 374.

23 See Vinding and Ramble 1.

3. Aspects of the History of Mustang in the 18th and 19th Centuries

3.1. The political situation and the downfall of the Lords of the Muktināth Valley in the 19th century

The castles of Kagbeni, Dzar and Dzong were indisputably built at points of geographically strategic significance, controlling as they do not only the Muktināth Valley, but also important roads into Manang and Mustang. Kagbeni, situated at the outlet of the *rJoṅ* river into the Kali Gandaki Valley, the main entrance to southern Mustang, is of particular importance. The ruins of these castles, with their still imposing proportions, bear lasting witness to bygone grandeur and royal splendour.

This makes the decline of the earlier economic prosperity and military might all the more conspicuous: *dPal-mgon-khro-rgyal,* nowadays the main representative of the clan of the former rulers of the valley, dwells today in very modest living conditions. Of course, he lives in one of the biggest houses in Dzar, yet his family have in the meantime sold the ruins of the castle; the ruins in Dzong also do not belong to him. The ruins of the castle in Kagbeni, to some extent still usable, have until recent times been owned by a collateral line of the former dPon-po's family, but about half of them have now been sold.

The ruin of the castles has apparently resulted not from military action, but from the economic problem posed by maintaining large complexes of buildings in good condition. This is particularly evident in the case of Kagbeni castle, of which large sections are still well-preserved. The parts of the building still in good condition threaten increasingly to fall into disrepair if necessary

restoration work is not carried out. Earthquakes may have accelerated the deterioration of the formerly huge complex of buildings.

Before we investigate the history of the Muktināth Valley and the family who have ruled over this area for more than a hundred years, let us first take a look at the geographical and demographic data for the area in question. The Muktināth Valley belongs today to the Mustang district, which, according to the Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu[1], comprises 3573 sq. km., with a population of 12930[1]. Another source gives for the population of this area the substantially higher figure of 30334[2]. The Muktināth Valley is divided into the Upper Muktināth Valley and the Lower Muktināth Valley. The Upper Muktināth Valley contains six villages: Khyinga, Phutra, Dzong, Dzar, Phurang and Chonkor. The close relationship between these villages is evident from the collective name *Jar-rjoṅ yul-drug*, "with Dzar and Dzong (collectively) six villages"[3], by which the local people refer to their home. By the Lower Muktināth Valley we refer here to the valley floor and the terraces of the Dzong River down-stream from Khyinga, stretching from there down to Kagbeni.

The seven settlement of the Muktināth Valley belong to a somewhat bigger political unit, referred to as Baragaon and - as the name implies - made up originally of at least twelve villages. In addition to the aforementioned villages of the Muktināth Valley, Baragaon includes the following villages, lying on the right bank of the Kali Gandaki: Tiri, Phalak, Dankar-dzong, Pangling and Sangdag. Schuler chose the name Chumik[4] for the area containing these twelve villages, giving the following reason:

"As far as I know, "Baragaon" was originally an administrative label, not an indigenous name. It was probably first used by the Rana government in the nineteenth century."

In two legal documents drawn up by King Raṇabahādūra Sāha in 1790 and 1792, the then head of the clan of the *dPon-po* of the Muktināth Valley *Khro-bo-dpal-mgon,* referred to in the documents as "Jhārakoṭyā ṭopāla bisṭa", and also as "Ṭopāl Bisṭa of Dzarkot", is mentioned as ruling over, amongst other areas, "Bārhagāũ"[5]. Taking into account that South Mustang only finally fell under Gorkha rule in 1789 with the conquest by Jumla, it becomes obvious that the name Baragaon cannot owe its origin to the dominance of Gorkha. The linking of the "twelve villages" into an administrative unit definitely traces back to the time before the rule of Gorkha. In fact, in the Kag Bemchag, a paper certainly drawn up a hundred years before the beginning of Gorkha rule, there is mention of the elder (*rgan-pa*) of *yul-kha bću-gñis*, that is, the "twelve settlements"[6].

The entire population of the twelve settlements was given in 1978 as around 2200[7]. In the region of the six villages of the Muktināth Valley (without Kagbeni) Schuler records 284 households, so we can take the population of these six villages as around 1200[8]. The size of the population of the area under discussion is thus equivalent to that of an average rural community in modern Germany.

Baragaon was certainly not the only district under the control of the Lords the of Muktināth Valley, as we see by looking at the two above-mentioned royal decrees from the time of *Khro-rgyal-dpal-mgon* drawn up in 1790 and 1792[9]. The author of both documents is King Raṇabahādūra Sāha (1778-1799). According to both documents the person to whom they are both addressed, one

Ṭopāl Bisṭa from Jhārkot [Dzar], is given the districts of Bārhagāũ [Baragaon], Nār [Nar] and Manāṅ [Manang] as free estate (birtā) and granted the right to impose road and commercial taxes (jagāt) traditionally levied in Kāk [Kag]. Both of the documents indicate that the economic foundation of the rulers of the castles of the Muktināth Valley was comparatively large, and may have extended a long way beyond Baragaon. It must finally be noted that the area indicated by the administrative title Baragaon, at least in the first half of the 19th century, apparently also included other territory besides the twelve settlements. Thus we consider, in addition to the below edited Document 2, a legal document with which in 1851 *rDo-rje thogs-rgyal,* one of the rulers of the castles of the Muktināth Valley, organised the laws of *Chug* district. From there we can conclude that the five *Se-skad* speaking villages north of Kagbeni also belonged to the administrative unit of Baragaon. The same would seem to have at one time applied to Tsharka, lying on the route from Kagbeni to Dolpo (see ADSD, Document 4, footnote 2).

The following *dPon-po*s of Dzar are mentioned in various legal documents, which it was possible to record.on film in 1985:

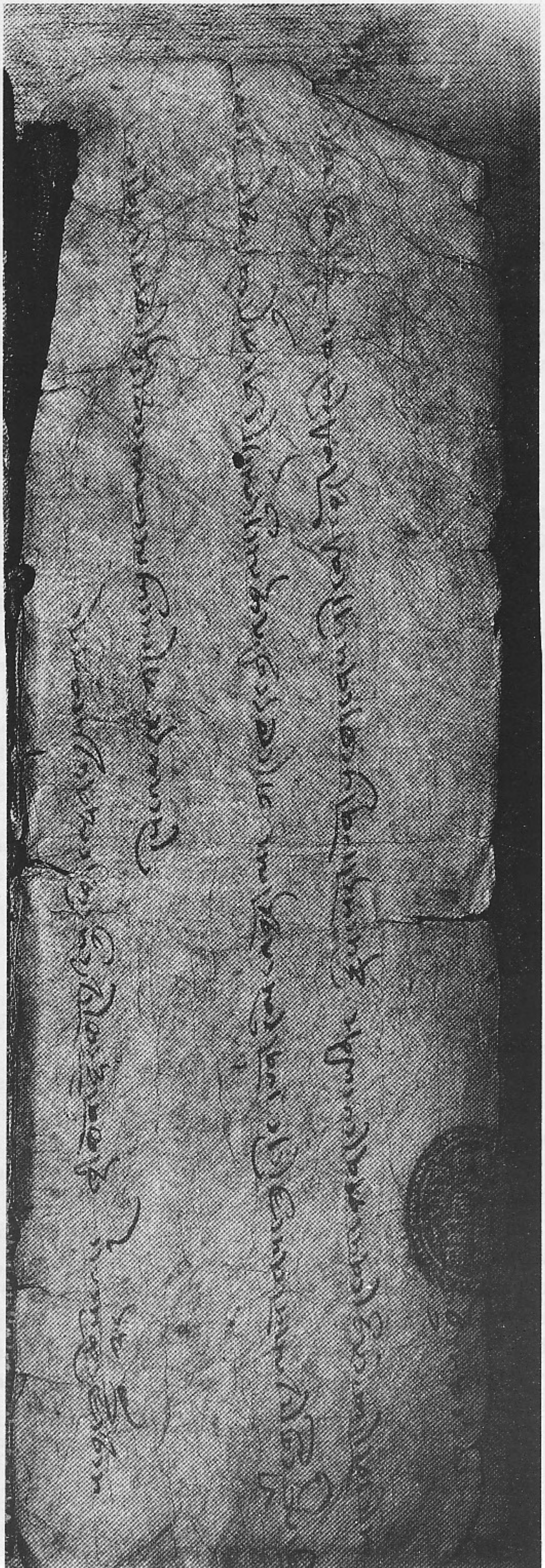
Name (as listed in the ADSD document)	Tibetan equivalent	Year in which mention is made	Document
Ṭopāl Bisṭa	Khro-dpal[10]	1790, 1792	2, 3
Ṭhiṭuva Bisṭa	Khri-thog-pa[11]	1803, 1809, 1812, 1818, 1819, 1820	4, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12
Silīn Namgyāl Bisṭa	Zil-gnon-rnam-rgyal	1820, 1825, 1826, 1829, 1833	12, 14, 15, 18, 19
Gumgyāla Bisṭa	Kun-rgyal	1820	12
Goṃbā Chiriṃ Bisṭa	dGon-po-che-riṅ	1842	21

It is possible to supplement this list with two further people with the help of the legal documents dealt with later:

	rDo-rje-thogs-rgyal[12]	1849, 1850	Documents 1 and 2
	Khro-rgyal	1861	Document 3

The documents ADSD 2 and 3 are confirmatory legal documents which show laws and duties of the rulers of the castles of the Muktināth Valley quite clearly. One of the most important functions of these rulers was their role as supreme legal authority in both criminal and civil law. ADSD 2 and 3 refer in particular to their function as criminal judges, as which their task was to make those who transgressed legally admit their guilt, and to punish them according to the seriousness of their crimes. The responsibility for setting the sentence at a particular fine falls at least partly upon the criminal judge. It was decreed by the Prime Minister Kāji Damodar Pande (1800-1804) in 1803 that the rulers of the castles of the Muktināth Valley were allowed to keep 10% of the fines (daṃḍakuṃḍa) collected following such sentences (ADSD 4).

The criminal law acts show that the rulers



generally had great power over their subjects. The instruction, found in ADSD 3, to settle new farmers on the land of insubordinate subjects makes the extent of the rulers' power quite clear. On the other hand, an order found in the documents ADSD 2 and 3 specifies that subjects must not be persecuted, and restricts this power. It should also be noted that after 1790 the traditional legal principles from the time preceding Gorkha rule persisted. These legal principles suggest that the supreme legal authorities of the time were subjected to high moral principles. These will be considered more closely below.

Three documents furnish us with information regarding the civil legal activities of the rulers; the oldest of these was written in the *Sa-bya* year of 1849. The text of this document, sealed with a stamp, is found on the last page of the Kag Bemchag. In it, the rulers relinquish their claim to the taxes that the inhabitants of Kagbeni had had to pay to the castle (*mkhar*) since the time when the Muktināth Valley was affiliated to Jumla.

Text of the document (Document 1):

1 sa-bya zla * 9 * ches * 28 * la Z, khri-thob (rod-rje)-(thogs)-(rgyal) sku-ph └y┘ e └r┘ lhan-(rgyas) bka' Z
2 ṅes-'ćhar (kags)-yul-ba la (phyags)-(rtags) gnaṅ-don la
3 [s] └ṅo┘ n 'juṃ-glaṅ-rgyal-po nas zuṅ de, dpon rim-'byor la, (kags)-khar gyi 'phral dṅul * 8 * daṅ śa-(kogs) * 1 * phed kyaṅ, da-ćha
4 yaṅ dgoṅs-yaṅ 'byuṅ nas gnaṅ-pa yin, rjes-sor dpon su-thad-nas ded mi (phyogs)-pa'i ṅes-ba, rgod phyed (phyags)- └(rtags)┘
5 -- khar nas bris (seal impression)

1 khri-thog, sku-mćhed 2 ñe-ćhar kags-yul-ba phyag-rtags 3 nas bzuṅ ste, kags mkhar gyi khral, śa-khog *1* phyed 4 dgoṅs-yaṅs byuṅ, gnaṅ-ba, 'ded mi ćhog-pas ṅes-pa, go-byed phyag-rtags 5 mkhar nas

Translation:

"On the 29th day of the 9th month of the Sa-bya Year, joint orders of *Khri-thog rDo-rje-thogs-rgyal* and his brother:

Regarding the contents of the sealed document henceforth bestowed upon the inhabitants of *Kags,*

certainly previously since (the time of) the Kings of Jumla, eight silver (coins) and half an animal carcass were (delivered) to the following *dPons* as taxes for the castle.

Now, however, this is, out of great generosity, discontinued. As this must not in the future be levied from any *dPon,* notice is to be taken of (this order).

A sealed document, that will be made known, recorded in the ... castle."

I filmed another legal document (Document 2) by the same author in 1985 in Dzar. Written in a *Khyi* year that can be identified as 1850, it is in the possession of the family of our former assistant, Rajendra. This document is addressed to the inhabitants of Chug. It prohibits foreigners from using certain mountain areas as pasture, and from collecting wood and grass in these areas.

Text of the document (Document 2):

1 Z, khyi-lo zla-ba gñis-pa'i ches lṅa la, khri-(tho └gs┘) (rdo-rje)-thog-rgyal sku-źabs nas Z
2 ṅes-'ćhar, chug-pa yul-ba la (phyags)-rtag gnaṅ-don la
3 chu-bhag-ri-ka'i bskor la, kiṅ-ćhad-gaṅ-gyud man la, chu-bhag-ri ćig-bu (ma-gtog ?), źag-ri-rluṅ gaṅ la yaṅ, rtaṅ med-pa'i
4 'jo ra boṅ-bu 'ca śiṅ la sog-pa mthu mi (phyogs)-pa daṅ, 'dud-'gro rtaṅ mi (phyogs)-pa daṅ, ma-zad, └gr┘ i-ri stod uṅ-śoṅ man
5 la yaṅ dgoṅ naṅ-bźin, 'jo ra boṅ-bu bha-glaṅ rtaṅ mi-(phyogs)-pa daṅ, 'ca śiṅ mthu mi (phyogs)-pas ṅes-ba, sgo-byed (phyags)-(rtags) (pho-braṅ)
6 (bskags)-khar nas bris Z, yaṅ-kyar chu-bhag-ri la yaṅ bdud-'gro'i 'ca za'-ba daṅ, ćhu-guṅ ma (ma gtog ?), mi yi śiṅ je-va ca mthu
7 mi (phyogs)-pa'i ṅes-ba gyi gyi (seal impression)

1 khri-thog 2 ñe-ćhar, phyag-rtags 3 skor la, gaṅs-rgyud man, gćig-pu (ma-gtogs ?), gtaṅ med-pa'i 4 mjo ra, rca śiṅ la sogs-pa 'thu mi ćhog, dud-'gro gtaṅ mi ćhog-pa 5 goṅ naṅ, mjo ra, ba-glaṅ gtaṅ mi ćhog-pa, rca śiṅ 'thu mi ćhog-pas, ṅes-pa, go-byed phyag 6 mkhar nas, dud-'gros rca za-ba, ćhu-khuṅ ma-gtogs, rca 'thu 7 mi ćhog-pas ṅes-pa gyis

Translation:

On the 5th day of the 2nd month in the Dog Year, from the ruler, *Khri-thog rDo-rje-thog-rgyal*:

Just as in regard to the contents of the sealed document henceforth bestowed upon the inhabitants of *Chug*,

so it shall be in regard to the uncultivated *Chu-bhag-ri*(hills)[13]: below the *Kin-ćhad* range of snow-capped mountains, except in *Chu-bhag-ri* itselve, at any resting place, hill(side) and in the valley, *mJo,* goats and donkeys are not to be grazed[14]. The gathering of grass, wood and other materials is not allowed, and neither is the grazing of cattle. Furthermore, the grazing of *mJo,* goats and deer and the gathering of grass and wood is also not allowed above *Gri-ri* and below *Uṅśoṅ* accordingly.

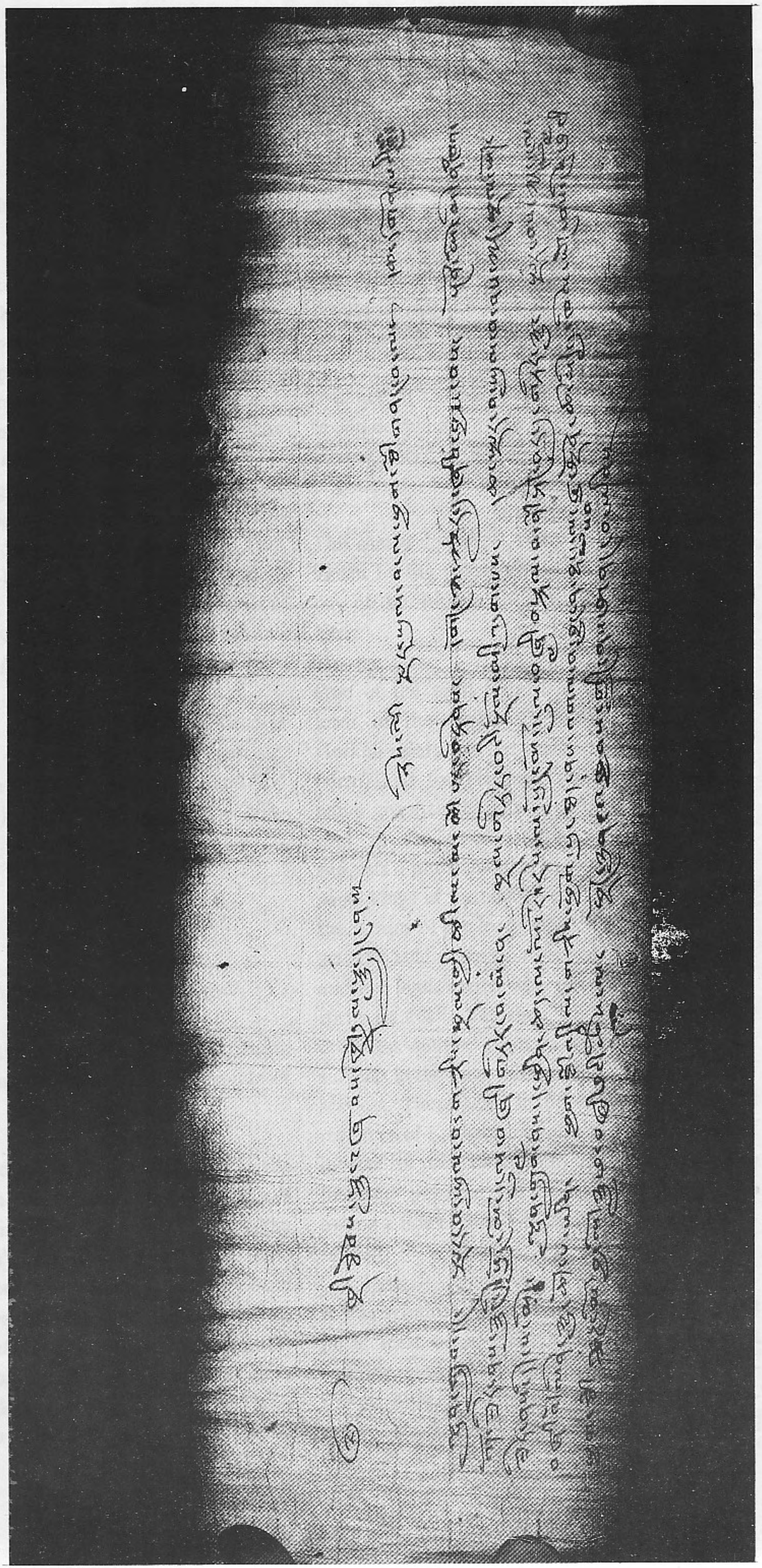
Notice must be taken of (order)!
A sealed document, that will be made known, recorded in the palace of the castle (*mkhar*) of *bsKag.*

Once again: aside from the grazing of cattle on the *Chu-bhag-ri* and (the use of) waterholes, the public are not allowed to gather wood, dung and grass. Notice is hereby given of this!"

The third document to be dealt with here was written in the *lĆags-bya* year of 1861. The author was known by the title *Khri-thog sku-źabs Khro-rgyal.* This document, kept in the archives of the village community and filmed in Dzar in 1985, resolves a legal wrangle between the monastery in Dzar and the inhabitants of the settlement.

Text of the document (document 3):

1 Z, khri-thobs sku-Zźabs khro-(rgyal) sku-druṅ nas/
2 ñes-laṃ, rjar-yul-ba la phyag-thaṃ gnaṅ-ba la, (da-ćha) dgon-pa'i (bla-ma)
3 lhun-grub daṅ, rjar-ba-yul-ba gñis phral gyi ćhi la ma ćhaṃ-par (brten nas), dgoṅ-ka rcar-du źib byas-bas, sṅon me-me (naṃ-



mkha')-

4 'od-zer nas zuṅ de sloṅ-mo dṅul * 4 * gter-ba ma-na, khral gter-ba'i srol mi 'dug-pas, (da-ća) rjar-ba-yul-ba nas kyaṅ phral yod

5 zer nas ded-pa med, lhun-grub nas da phyin-ćhad lo re-res la sloṅ-mo dṅul bźi * 4 * bskal-ba naṃ-stoṅ bar-du gter-rgyu, rjar-bas kyaṅ dṅul * 4 *

6 bźi-bo len-rgyu ćhod-pa yin, phyag-thaṃ 'di la gñis-phyog su-thad nas 'gal-ba byuṅ na bha dṅul * 50 * źu-gron cha-med-du khel yoṅ-bas ṅes-ba'i

7 phyag-thaṃ, (lćags)-mo bya-lo zla-ba bźi-ba'i ches * 9 * la, (pho-braṅ) kun-'khyabs-gliṅ nas gnaṅ-ba yin /

1 khri-thog 2 ñe-lam 3 khral gyi ćhed la ma 'ćhams, dgoṅs-ka, byas-pas 4 bzuṅ ste, bster-ba ma-na, khral bster-ba'i, khral yod 5 lo re re la, bskal-pa, bster-rgyu 6 gñis-phyogs, 'ba' dṅul, 'khel yoṅ-bas ṅes-pa'i 7 kun-khyab

Translation:

"On behalf of *Khri-thog sku-źabs Khro-rgyal*:

Regarding how the henceforth effective granting of a sealed document affects the inhabitants of *rJar,*

It can be relied upon that as *lHun-grub,* the *Bla-ma* of the monastery, and the inhabitants of *rJar* had fallen into discord over the taxes, the state of affairs[15] was thoroughly examined[16]. Apart[17] from four silver (coins) that had been given as *sLoṅ-mo* (taxes) since the time of the ancestor *Nam-mkha'-'od-zer*, there was no (other) practice of tax payment. Thus the inhabitants of *rJar* cannot collect anything, if they say, it is taxes. *lHun-grub* is henceforth until the end of this age, each year to pay the *sLoṅ-mo* tax of four silver (coins). It is determined that the people of *rJar* are to collect (the sum of) four silver (coins).

If either of the two parties offends against this sealed document, a fine of fifty silver (coins) will immediately[18] be imposed as penalty for breach of contract.

This sealed document, to be taken notice of, was issued by the palace *Kun-khyab-gliṅ* on the 9th day of the 4th month of the Female Iron Bird Year."

One of the most important obligations of the lords of the Muktināth Valley towards their Gorkha rulers was the yearly delivery of tributes (sirto) and toll revenues (jagāt). Whereas the name given to the annual tribute to be handed over to the royal treasury (tosāṣānā), sirto, suggests a position equal to that of the numerous small kings of western Nepal[19], the title used for the estates of the lords, birtā, indicates that they actually held a position between the small kings and the landowners, who generally had tax-free Birtā estates[20]. Yet their position of authority doubtless entitled them to levy taxes from their subjects in the form of duties and performance of services. These taxes made up not only the toll revenues of Kagbeni, but also the main source of income of the lords, out of which they also financed payment of the tributes. They also owned a few estates, which they cultivated themselves[21].

It was required that the annual tribute payment be at least occasionally delivered in person. It was this requirement that in 1820 prompted Khri-tog-pa Biṣṭa, Seṅge-rnam-rgyal Biṣṭa and Kun-rgyal Biṣṭa to address a petition to the Nepali

King, asking to be excused from delivering the tribute in person, because of the risk of an outbreak of smallpox[22]. When in 1825 Senge-rnam-rgyal Bista, on the same grounds but without the authorisa-tion of the King, failed to fulfil his duty to deliver the tribute personally, but sent it with a representative, the King punished him with a fine of 1,201 Rupees[23].

In 1790 the grand total of the tribute payments and taxes supplied from the toll revenues that were delivered to the royal treasury amounted to 1701 mohar sikkā[24]. Two years later, in 1792, the sum to be delivered had already risen to 2401 mohar sikkā[25]. A document from 1809 gives the total of the taxes due to the lords of the Muktināth Valley as amounting to 4001 rupees[26].

It is not clear to me whether these changes in the sum of the taxes did not result at least to some extent from varying monetary values of mohar sikkā and mohar rupaiyā. However, it is noticeable that the document from 1809, as also all later documents, mentions only Kagbeni and Baragaon as districts for which tribute payments should be tendered; thus we can conclude that, by 1809 at the latest, control over Manang and Nar was no longer solely in the hands of the lords of the Muktināth Valley. It would seem that at the beginning of the 19th century the tax burden on the lords rose considerably, while the area under their control diminished drastically. In the years following 1812 the tribute payment de-creased only slightly, to 3801 rupees[27].

A far-reaching change in the administrative structure of Baragaon eventually occurred at the beginning of the period of Rana rule in Nepal. In 1866, 18 villages, including amongst others Kagbeni, Dzar, Putra and Purang, hence also the whole area of the Muktināth Valley and Baragaon, was handed over as Jagir to General Jagat Jung Bahadur Kunwar, the oldest son of Jang Bahadur. At that time in the aforementioned district, the rights to levy taxes, to deduct tolls and to dispense justice were sold to the highest bidder, and it was possible for foreigners to take part in the auctions[28]. Regmi 1 (pp. 55-56) recorded for the 19 villages in question 19 different people who presided over these villages as Mukhiya in 1866-67. The grand total of the proceeds resulting from this reform amounted to 6001 rupees in 1886. By the next year it had already risen by 300 rupees to 6301 rupees.
These events sealed the end of the political and economic hegemony of the lords of the Muktināth Valley. They could of course maintain an assured precedence in the social structure as the aristocracy[29], but their former royal splendour fell into disrepair, the only evidence of it remaining today being the soaring battlements of the immense ruined castles.

Notes

1 SPB, p. 14.
2 NDP, p. 510. Since according to NDP (p. 500) the area in question comprises 3661 sq. km., we can assume that NDP is referring to the same area as SPB.
3 See Snellgrove, p. 201. The interpretation of this term given by Schuler (p. 13) is wrong.
4 Schuler, p. 7.
5 ADSD, documents 2 and 3.
6 Kag Bemchag, fol. 5v,1.
7 Schuler, p. 13.
8 Schuler (pp. 234-252) lists the number of housholds of seven villages, she labels as "village A - G". Among these village D is obviously to be identified as Lubra. I therefore assume that the remaining vilages

are settlements in the upper Muktināth Valley. In calculating the number of inhabitants on the base of the number of households I assumed that each household comprises in average 4,25 persons. For this estimation see Schuh 3, part III,4.

9 Facsimile edition, transliteration and translation of these documents can be found in ADSD, documents 2 and 3.

10 This is an abridged version of the name *Khro-bo-dpal-mgon.*

11 This is only one of the titles of the lords of the Muktināth Valley.

12 This could be a corrupt spelling of the name *rDo-rje-khro-rgyal.*

13 In the dialect of the Muktināth Valley a *ri-ka* is a hillsite area outsite a village not to be used for agriculture. However *ri-ka*'s were economically important as grazing grounds or forests.

14 This construction pattern of the sentence is rather strange and unusual. But the following text forbids any other interpretation.

15 I did not find this word *dgoṅ(s)-ka* anywhere else.

16 *rcar-du źib byas-pa* is obviously equivalent to *rca-ba nas źib-'jug byed-pa* "to examine thoroughly".

17 In the dialect of the Muktināth Valley *ma-na* is often used as a converbial morpheme with the meaning "apart from" or "except for".

18 The expression *cha-med* is so far not recorded as a word, used in the dialect of the Muktināth Valley. In similar formulars of Tibetan legal documents we find phrases like *gleṅ-med* or *gcaṅ-grub.*

19 See Regmi, pp. 150-

20 For the importance of the birtā estates see Regmi, p. 253-444.

21 See ADSD, Document 15.

22 ADSD, Document 12.

23 ADSD, Document 14.

24 ADSD, Document 2. Of this the tributes (sirto) amounted to 1401 mohar sikkā and the toll revenues (jagāt) amounted to 301 mohar sikkā.

25 ADSD, Document 3.

26 ADSD, Document 5.

27 ADSD, Document 18

28 ADSD, Document 15, footnote 2; Regmi 1.

29 Ramble, p. 121-; Schuler, p. 152-

3.2. The political position of northern Mustang during the transition of power from Jumla to the King of Gorkha

The first question to be answered here is how the transference of power by the King of Gorkha, Raṇabahādūra Sāha, to *Khro-bo-dpal-mgon,* the lord of the Muktināth Valley, that occurred in the 9th decade of the 18th century, can be explained. It must be understood that the issue in question is not a new transfer of power over certain areas to a new ruler. At the time of the issue of the two legal documents mentioned above (ADSD, docu-ments 2 and 3), the ancestors of this lord of the Muktināth Valley had already been ruling over at least part of the area in question for several hundred years.

Our question has already been more or less answered by research which addresses a general characteristic of the conquest policies of the Shah dynasty in the 18th century[1]. During their conquests of the various petty states of the mountainous regions of Nepal, the rulers of Gorkha generously granted the nobility and aristocracy of the captured areas estates as Birtā or gave them the status of dependent small kingdoms, if they took sides with the conquerors in good time and supported their campaign. Regmi expresses this aptly as follows[2]:

> "In the majority of cases such favors were conferred because the nobility of the conquered principalities had deserted to the Gorkha side and rendered active assistance in their military campaigns. Where the chieftains refrained from fighting to the bitter end, they often retained their principalities on an autonomous, feudatory basis."

From a royal charter of 1790, written in copperplate, we know how the legal arrangements were made to grant Mustang the status of a small dependent kingdom. This document was first edited in 1965 by Dinesh Raj Pant as part of a short investigation in which he examined the aforementioned aspects of the conquest policies of the Shah dynasty[3]. Mahesh C. Regmi has published a summary of this document in English[4]. A facsimile of this charter, along with editing and translation, was published in ADSD[5].

The author of the document is Raṇabahādūra Sāha, and it is addressed to the *Mostāgī rājā Vāgyāl Dorje* (*dBaṅ-rgyal rdo-rje*). The legal decrees found in this document can be divided into 6 main groups:

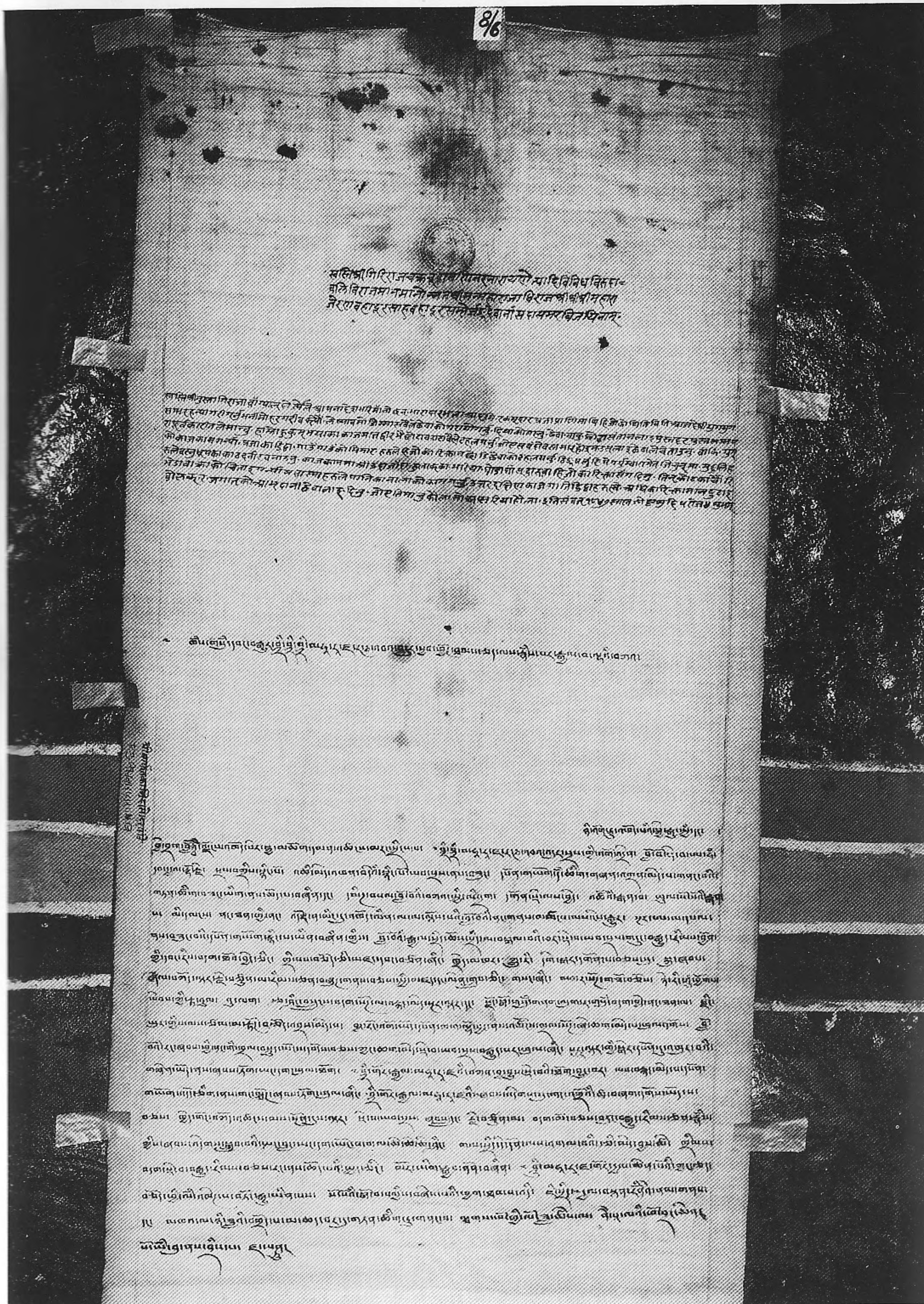
1. Sovereign authority over the domain as it existed before the time of the drawing up of the document is confirmed.

2. Certain areas, detached from Mustang during the 18th century by force and given to Jumla, are returned to the domain of Mustang: the area to the north-east of Bādaraphatkā containing *Bhābuṅa ṣola, Tarāp ṣola, Lābhu ṣola* and *Chārkā gaun.*

3. The obligation to pay the common-law, traditional tax (dastura) by the inhabitants of the places Thāk, Thini, Bāhragāũ, Manāṅa, Nārā and Nisyān remains in force.

4. The right to levy a tax referred to as *Chyākpol* (in Tibetan *phyag-phul*) from merchants passing through, previously claimed by the King of Jumla for himself, devolves upon the King of Mustang.

5. The payment of an annual tribute (sirto) of 71 rupañā to Tibetan administration must continue.


8/6
स्वस्ति श्री गिरिराजचक्रचूडामणि नरनारायणेत्यादि विविध विरुदा-
वलि विराजमानमानोन्नत ... श्री महाराजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री मन्म
...रण बहादुर शाह बहादुर समशेर जङ्ग देवानां सदा समर विजयिनाम्

[illegible]
राख्वकारीत लेमान्नु· हाम्रा हुकुम भयाका कागजमा तहीर भै छोटा वडा सबैले रहन गर्नु· जो सबै [illegible] होइ [illegible] बाकि [illegible]
फौ काज काम गर्न्या· प्रजाका दुङ्गा· गाउँ गाउँको भिकार [illegible] हरुले हिंजो का रितमा [illegible] रहन गर्नु· [illegible]
हरुले [illegible] काज काममा [illegible] घोडा [illegible] हिजो का रितसँग दिनु· [illegible]
भेडा बाख्रा को [illegible] हरुले पानिका नालाको काम गर्नु· उत्तर दक्षिण का जगा [illegible] हरुले· [illegible]
[illegible] जगात को [illegible] दिनु· जो ए [illegible] होला· इति संवत १८[illegible] साल [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

6. The annual tribute (sirto) of 929 rupañā and five horses formerly tọ be rendered to Jumla is now to be handed over to the King of Nepal.

A later bilingual document (Document 4), issued up by King Raṇabahādūra Sāha, shows how little the old internal position of the *sDe-pa* of Mustang was affected by the new balance of power in Nepal. This document, which, like the copperplate referred to above, was drawn up in 1790, was photographed in Lo Monthang in 1987. It belongs to the archives of the current Rāja of Mustang.

Document 4:

1 Z, khaṃs-gsuṃ dbaṅ-brgyur śri śri śri mahā-rā-ja ra-ṇa-'ba'-'dur syab (phyogs) thams-ćad las rnaṃs-par rgyal-ba lha'i bka'

2 ñi-'og tu 'khod-pa'i skye-rgu spyi daṅ

3 bye-brag (blo-bo'i) ljoṅs-'khod ser-skya mćhog-dman 'chaṅs-mar spriṅs-pa, Z śri śri ma-hā-rā-ja ra-ṇa-'ba'-'dur sras gyi 'go-'dren, blo-bo sde-ba a-haṃ

4 dbaṅ-(rgyal)-rdo-rje, sras (bkra-śis)-sñiṅ-po, 'ćhi-med-'phan-bde'i-sñiṅ-po yab-sras nas bzuṅ, dpon-g.yog daṃ-chig gźan-'gran med--pa gnaṅ-ba'i

5 gtan-chig bzaṅ-yig nas ćhod-pa bźin daṅ, (dmigs)-bsal blo-bo'i bka'-spyi mi-drag, dgon-sde las-byed, 'cho'i rgan-pa, yul so-so'i rgan-

6 pa, mi-dmaṅs, naṅ-zan phyi-naṅ, 'dor-na miṅ du 'khod-min la ma-ltos-pa'i blo-bo'i naṅ-gnas mchaṅs-mas ṅes-rgyur, sṅar a-ma-dpal

7 nas bzuṅ-ba'i dpon-g.yog rñiṅ-pa yin-bźin gyis, blo-bo'i rgyal-srid ćhos-srid la bskal-ba'i bar sde-ba yab-sras gduṅ-brgyud rims-byon

8 gyi dbaṅ-ris bdag-thob byed ćiṅ, khrims-bćod ći mjad dbaṅ bcan źiṅ, khred-mkhar, klu-ri, dge-sgar-dgon-pa bćas su, sku-źabs

9 źal-bkod ltar rje-bcun-ma rims-ćan (bźugs)-gnas bćas spyi-mjad daṅ-len grub ćiṅ, gsaṅ-źiṅ, mkhar (sogs) gzo-bćos, ñe-riṅ {'u} phyogs-

10 phebs kyi rta-'ul, 'u-lag, rca-śiṅ bsruṅs-bdag (sogs)-la brñad-med sṅar-ltar daṅ, rjoṅ-sgo gsuṃ gnag lug ra gsuṃ bdag-byed naṅ-zan la, sjiṅ-

11 yur gyis las-cam ma-(rtogs) brcod-'bras med-pa, byaṅ-roṅ 'go-yod dpon-khag lho-byaṅ nas 'choṅs-khral (sogs) źe-ćhag med-pa phul-dgos, blo-

12 bo'i raṅ-źabs phyi-naṅ gi khral-bsdud yoṅs-dgos bćas kyaṅ ćhag-med sde-ba yab-sras brgyud-par phul źiṅ, sṅar-ltar gyi sger-dpon du 'khur-ba'i

13 gźen-yod nas źabs-tog yaṅ-dag phul thog, Z śrī gor-rgyal mahā-rā-ja'i bka'-bya-byus sde-ba'i thog byuṅ-bar, lab-brñad med-pa dpon-

14 g.yog 'dod ćig nas gaṅ-(lćogs) źabs-tog phul źiṅ, Z śri gor-rgyal mahā-rā-ja'i źabs-'degs su gaṅ 'gro'i chva-bźag dgos yod-pa

15 bćas, khyed goṅ-bkod 'chaṅs-mas sṅon-dus ltar, sde-pa yab-sras, źabs-druṅ, rje-bcun-ma, bdag-mo bćas gduṅ-brgyud rims-ćan rnaṃs

16 kyis źabs-'degs sgrub-pa'i spaṅ-blaṅ yaṅ-dag yoṅ-ba gal-ćhe ćhe ćhe śiṅ, gal-srid de-don las 'gal-ba'i rci-med byas che, khrims-

17 bdag sde-ba brgyud-rims bćas raṅ nas ćhod-pa'i spyad ćiṅ, mor-yig rgyab-non bźin, Z śri mahā-rā-ja gor-(rgyal) ćhen-po'i kyaṅ rcad-

18 bćod phyi-lasm ('khegs)-pa btoṅ-rgyu yin-pas, so-so'i sgo-ba bgyis bźes-pa'i phyag-thams 'di, ji-srid Z (rgyal)-bstan (rin-po-ćhe) nam-gnas

19 daṅ, mkha' la ñi-zla'i bgrod-pa ma-ćhad

bar-du gtan-chig tu gnaṅ-ba, lćags-pho-khyi-lo zla-ches la, nai-pā-la'i pho-braṅ ćhen-po yaṃ-bu nas bris-pa, ja-yantu

1 dbaṅ-sgyur, 'dur sras, rnam-par rgyal-ba 3 chaṅ-mar, sras kyi 5 zaṅs-yig, cho'i rgan-pa 6 mdor na, chaṅ-mas 7 gduṅ-rgyud, rim-byon 8 khrims-gćod 9 rim-ćan, ći mjad, bzo-bćos 10 rcva-śiṅ bsruṅ-bdag, bsñad-med, rjiṅ 11 yur gyi, ma-gtogs rcod-'bras, choṅ-khral, źa-ćhag 12 khral-sdud yoṅ-sgo, sde-pa, rgyud-par, du bkur-ba'i 13 gźan-yod, bka'-khyab-byus sde-pa, lab-bsñad med-par 14 'dod gćig, ćha-bźag 15 chaṅ-mas, gduṅ-rgyud rim-ćan 16 kyi źabs-'degs, rcis-med 17 sde-pa rgyud-rim, ćhad-pas gćod, rgyab-gnon, ćhen-pos 18 gćod phyi-lam khebs-pa gtoṅ-rgyu, so-so nas go-ba gyis źes-pa'i phyag-tham

Translation:

"Order of the God, who is wholly victorious over all directions of the firmament, of the Śrī, Śrī, Śrī Mahārāja Raṇabahādūra Sāha, who governs the "three worlds",

dispatched generally to all creatures who live under the sun, and particularly to all people of high rank and to the commoners, monks and laymen, who live in the region of *Blo-bo*.

Under the protection of the Śrī, Śrī Mahārāja Raṇabahādūra Sāha (an alliance) was granted between Master (*dpon,* that is the Kings of Nepal) and subject (*g.yog,* that is the Kings of Mustang) beginning with the father, the *sDe-pa* of *Blo-bo,* the *A-ham dBaṅ-rgyal-rdo-rje* and the sons *bKra-śis-sñiṅ-po* and *'Ćhi-med-'phan-bde'i-sñiṅ-po,* whose oath [that is between master and subject] was indisputable by others. That which was settled accordingly in the authoritative document, the copperplate[6], should be retained, and the following is to be observed, especially, in fact, by the Kāji [Tib. *bka'-spyi*] of *Blo-bo,* by the nobility (*mi-drag*), by the office bearers of the monastery, by the elders (*rgan-pa*) of the *Cho*(-groups), by the elders of the different settlements (*yul*), by the common people, by the servants (of the King) outside (*phyi-san*) (the Palace) and inside (*naṅ-san*) (the Palace), and, in short, by all those who live inside of *Blo*(*-bo*), irrespective of wether they are mentioned here or not.

Because there is an old (agreement) between master [King of Mustang] and subjects [people of Mustang], which was begun earlier with *A-ma-dpal,* the worldly domain (*rgyal-srid*) and the religious domain (*ćhos-srid*) of *Glo-bo* is governed as a dominion of the *sDe-pa,* the father and the son and the successive generations as long as this age endures. For all decisions on legal proceedures that they make, their power is binding.

In the monasteries of *Khred-mkhar, Klu-ri* and *dGe-sgar* obedience must be shown the orders of the sKu-źabs[7] regarding everything that has to be done, inclusive of the whereabouts of the successive *rJe-bcun-ma*[8].

In respect to the *gSaṅ-źiṅ*(-fields), the repair work for fortresses and other (buildings), the procurement of horses (*rta-'ul*) and transportation service (*'u-lag*) for travel to areas near and far away, the supply of pastures and fuel, etc, should remain, as earlier, without objection.

As to the servants (of the *sDe-pa*), who tend the dairy cattle and the sheep and goats in the three

districts, except for work on reservoirs and canals, no disputes should arise.

The various land rulers (*dpon*), those who preside over the regions in the north (*byaṅ*) [which lie in Tibet], and those who preside over the gorges of the south, must pay the trade tax for the south and the north without discount.

The subjects of *Blo-bo* must also deliver the outer and inner[9] tax payments in the same way as the income tax to the *sDe-pa,* the father, (his) son, and (his) successors without discount.

All others, who have been respected since long ago as independent landlords, must deliver spotless records of service.

Moreover, since the power to issue mandates of the Mahārāja, the glorious king of Gorkha, was delegated to the *sDe-pa,* the landlords and subjects have to present, without objection, out of a unified wish, a record of service (for the *sDe-pa*) as far as possible.

With regard to the records of service for the Mahārāja, the glorious king of Gorkha, a maximum of dependability is required.

Herewith it is of extremely great importance, that the precepts and prohibitions surrounding the furnishing of services to the *sDe-pa,* father and son, to the Źabs-druṅ, the *rJe-bcun-ma* and the queen, as well as to the following generations should be meticulously observed, as in the past, by every one of you mentioned above.

In the event that someone fails to observe this the supreme legal authority, the *sDe-pa,* and (his) family will prosecute whoever violates this decree. In addition, it is according to this Mohora-Confirmation document that the glorious Mahārāja, the great King of Gorkha, shall pursue an investigation that will act as a warning to everyone. Therefore, bear this in mind!

This sealed document that has been issued as a legal letter will retain its validity, as long as the precious teachings of the Buddha endure and the movement of sun and moon in the sky are not interrupted.

It was written on a day in the month of the male iron-dog year in *Yam-bu,* the great palace of Naipā-la.
Jayantu!"

Text and translation of the Nepalī Version (by M. L. Karmacharya):

Document

A Royal Rescript of King Raṇabahādūra Sāha [to the king and people of all strata in Mustang] [1790 A.D.]

1. svasti śrī girirājacakracūḍāmaṇinaranārāyaṇetyādivivi dhavirudā-
2. valivirājamānamānonnata śrīmanmahārājādhirāja śrīśrīśrī mahārā-
3. jeraṇabahādūrasāhabahādūra samserjuṅ devānām sadāsamara vijayanām-
4. svasti śrī mustā[m]gi rājā vāngyāl dorjyele āp[h]anā deśabhari mā jo chan bhārādāra bhalāādami rakamdāra prajāpraṇimāthi hijoko thitibiti ājadeṣī yugayuga
5. samma rahanyā garī garnu bhanī mohara garī baksyaū̃. leṣyā bamojimmā sabaile ḍhevāko garā yo garnu. diyāko ṣānu. ḍhevā bābu. chorā santānalāi pustadarapustasamma pa-

6. rā pūrvakā rītale mānnu. hāmrā hukum bhayākā kājmātadvīra bhai choṭābaḍā sabaile ṭahala garnu. jo esa bandobastamā rahoina uslāi dhevāle cataunu. baki gu.
7. ko kāja kāma gamyā. prajākā ḍiṭṭhā. gāū gāūko mimāra. harule hijoko riktā nachoḍi ḍhevāko ṭahala garnu. ṭhiṅ ṣaluṃ ri. gegargumbā samet jicunmā. muḍuliha
8. rule basnu dhūpakā kāṭha darbāra banāunu. kājakāmamā āūdājādā. hulākkā. bhariyā. ghoḍā ghās dāruvā hijokā riktā sāga dinu. tinkoṭakā caūri
9. bheḍābākrāko citāigarnyā ṣavāsyāharule pānikā-nālāko kāma garnu. uttaradakṣiṇakā jagāti ḍitthāharule. aghikā riktāmā naṭuṭāi
10. volak. ra. jagātko amdānī ḍhevālāi. dinu. joetimācukaulā so apsariyā haulā. itisamvat 1847 sāla jyeṣṭa śudi 5 roja 4 śubhaṃ

Translation:

1-3 Hail! - of the venerable supreme king of great kings, the thrice venerable great king, Raṇabahādūra Sāha, the brave swordsman, the divine king, always triumphant in war, who is high in honor and shining with manifold rows of eulogy as the venerable crest-jewel of mountain kings and Nārāyaṇa among men.

4-5 Hail! We [are pleased to] do [this] seal advising the king of Mustang, Vangyāl Dorje, to act [lit. do] the way the tradition [lit. yesterday's] customs and manners remain maintained among all those who are in this territory [lit. country] - all the courtiers, local prominent persons, officials and subjects, for ages [to come] from to-day.

5-6 In respect thereof [lit. in respect of what has been written] everybody shall do what is ordered to do [lit. caused to be done] by the *ḍhevā*, eat what is given [to eat and] shall have respect for the *ḍhevā*, [his] father, son, [and] descendants in all generations to come according to the traditions coming down from the past [lit. age-old rules].

6 Prompt to the duties as specified [lit. commanded] by us, the great and the small shall all give services [lit. wait on]. Whoever fails to remain under these obligations [lit. arrangements] shall be taken to task [lit. admonished] by the *ḍhevā*.

6-7 The remaining functionaries of....[not intelligible], the leading member of the subjects, *ḍiṭṭhā*, and the people in all the villages shall wait on the *ḍhevā* without making any breach in the traditions of the past [lit. customs of yesterday].

7-8 The clean-shaven nuns shall live in the *gumbās* of Thiṅkhar, Luri and Gegar. Make the buildings [lit. palaces] with fir-tree wood. Provide as usual [lit. according to yesterday's rules] grass, fire-wood, horses and porters for transportation when [we are] on official tours [lit. travelling in and out on business].

8-9 The attendants, *khawases*, who are in charge of [lit. look after] the yaks, sheep, and goats under the three castles shall attend to the duties relating to the watercourses.

9-10 The *ḍiṭṭhās* in charge of collecting taxes and dues in northern and central points shall, without making any breach in the previous rules, hand over the incomes from *volak* [the road-cess] and *jagāt* [tax on export and import] to the *ḍhevā*.

10 Whoever [of you] who fails in these [duties] shall be convicted [lit. an offender]. Date: Wednesday the 5th of the waxing moon of Jesta, Samvat Year 1847. Wish all good!

We can next conclude from the copperplate of the year 1790, that in consequence of conflict of many years between Mustang and Jumla, the beginning of which goes back to the second half of the 17th Century, not only were greater areas of Mustang transferred to Jumla, but also the obligation of Mustang to pay a tribute to Jumla was established. In the face of the 100-year military exchanges, it is small wonder that the King of Mustang *dBaṅ-rgyal-rdo-rje* placed himself, at the outbreak of the war between the ruler of Gorkha and Jumla, on the side of Gorkha. As a reward, he received back a portion of the areas which had been lost to Jumla. Moreover, he only exchanged the old sovereign for a new one, as the same tribute as had been delivered to the King of Jumla was now to be delivered to the King of Gorkha. In contrast to the castle lords of the Muktināth Valley, the taxes of the rulers from Mustang were not raised in the years immediately after 1790. From thenceforth they remained unchanged until the year 1823. In the year 1824, a reduction of the surrendered monetary amounts of up to 33 rupaiyā took place, at which point the drafting of a copperplate of King Rajendra Bikram Shah for a Torje jimba thārchin lamā (*bla-ma rDo-rje-sbyin-pa-thar-phyin*) resulted in a reduction of the revenue of the King of Mustang.[10]

It has to be mentioned here that the area of Baragaon, which before 1700 had belonged to Mustang, was not again placed in the dominion of Mustang. The reasons for this are on the one hand to be looked for in the internal organization of Mustang, from which the region of the Muktināth Valley had always possessed a great measure of independence. On the other hand, due to the conflict between Mustang and Jumla, to be investigated in one of the following chapters, a gradual separation of the Muktināth Valley from Mustang took place.

The continuation of tribute payment to Lhasa, as commanded by Raṇabahādūra Sāha in 1790, can be taken as an indication that the new sovereign deliberately allowed the intermediate position of Mustang between Nepal and Tibet to remain undecided. However, since the tribute payment to Tibet was not continued up to modern times, the question of when the definite ownership of Mustang was decided must be raised.

The certain answer to this question is presented to us by a letter of the 2nd *Che-smon-gliṅ* Regent to the King of Mustang, which was written on Feb. 9, 1824. This document belongs to the document collection of the King of Mustang, and was filmed in 1987.

The letter of the *Che-smon-gliṅ* Regent is an answer to a petition of the King of Mustang to grant a confirmation document to enduring pasture rights. The fact that this petition was not answered in the form of a legal confirmation document, but rather as a letter can be taken as an indication that Mustang had already been released from belonging to the Tibetan Territory. It is noteworthy that even until the first half of the 18th century, announcements to the King of Mustang were generally issued by the Tibetan Sovereign in the form of royal legal documents.

This supposition is confirmed by the contents of the letter. It next makes reference to a treaty (*dpyad-mchams*) approved by the Chinese emperor (*goṅ-ma ćhen-po*) which forms the founda-

tion of the establishment of the Tibetan borders (*sa-mchams phyi-nan dbye-byed*). Hereafter, following the *Ćhu-glan* year, 1793, the Tibetan Government was no longer allowed to issue legal documents for the areas beyond the Tibetan border. This means that, based upon a setting of the borders between Nepal and Tibet in 1793, Mustang was definitively included within the territory of Nepal, and, with this, the remaining earlier legal claim of Tibet was forfeited. Because of its historical significance, this letter of the *Che-smon-glin* Regent will be edited and translated below.

(Document 5)

1 Z, deṅ, riṅ-goms legs-byas śar-ri'i phrag-par ches-pa laṅ-cho'i zla-snaṅ gsal źiṅ, lugs-zuṅ rnam-par dge-ba'i

2 spyod-chul gyi zer-'phreṅ bdud-rcir 'jum bźin-pa nas, ñe-lam mi-sna'i mdun gsuṅ-bris rten kha-btags, 'go-snam mchal-

3 kha gyon-'deṅs bćas spel-'byor yid-spro brtas, 'dir 'du-ba bde źiṅ, gaṅs-ljoṅs ćhos-srid 'jin-spel gyi lhag-bsam dge-bar

4 mćis, ji-ltar ri-┌kha'┐i don S ---u gru'i -va [± 15 S] pa'i rigs med-pa'i gl[o]-b[o]'i

5 kuṅs-raṅ daṅ, rcva-ño rca-bdag sṅar-gnas yoṅ-ba'i (rgyab)-gnon tham-ka dgos-chul thad, ćhu-glaṅ nas bzuṅs Zgoṅ-ma-ćhen-po'i

6 bka'i dpyad-mchams dgoṅs-don sa-mchams phyi-naṅ dbye-byed kyi bod-khoṅs sa-mchams phan-la bka'-śog tham-ka'i rigs

7 gtoṅ-srol med kyaṅ, ñi-raṅ gźuṅ-gnas su gus-'dud ćhe-ba ma-zad, 'br[o]g-dud sd┌o┐d-gnas gźuṅ-kh┌o┐ṅs sa-dga'-rj[o]ṅ '[o]g-tu y┌o┐d-par

8 soṅ-gśis gźuṅ-bla gñis kyi khoṅs nas rca-za lhas-mal la brcod-'phrog daṅ, khral-rigs gsar-'gel bćas mi-ćhog-pa'i

9 bka'-śog tham-smin zur-du spel yod-ćiṅ, sa-dga' daṅ, glo-bo'i lam-bar g.yas su gcaṅ-po zer-ba'i spyad-kha ko-sar ko-gsar

10 rigs med-pa'i ko-ba raṅ-'jags glo-bo raṅ nas bcugs-'thus skor, ćhu-glaṅ chun gsar-spros ma yin-pa'i sṅa-dus nas da-lta phan

11 gnas-mus yin-che de-don yoṅ-'gro źiṅ, byaṅ-ri bod-'brog-pas g┌l┐o-bo 'beb-khral bću-kha sogs kyi skor gźuṅ ćhab-'baṅ[s cha]ṅ-mas

12 gnas-mus yin-che bla-braṅ gźuṅ-skyaṅ gi rce-śod śe-ma khag la 'byor-dod zer-ba sprod-len thad gźuṅ-bla gñis-khoṅs sṅar-srol byas

13 che 'thus-rigs la yid-'jags daṅ, slad-mar yaṅ, dge-legs kyi gźi-rten sku-che yun-gnas kyi mthun-'jug daṅ, mjad

14 bzaṅ 'gogs-med nas, gsuṅ-bris rim-yod 'chal, rten kha-btags, gos dpyad-lhan yud bćas zla * 12 12 * ches * 8 * la / (seal impression)

5 ćhu-glaṅ nas bzuṅ 10 med-pas 11 byaṅ-rigs, 'bebs-khral

Translation:

"Today the good deeds which you have long practised have become clear like the youthful light of the moon which rises on the shoulders of the eastern mountain, and the gleaming crown of the completely good manner of conducting yourselves according to the two types of behaviors (the religious and the worldly) smiles like nectar.

Due to this, a letter together with a ceremonial scarf and a piece of red wool material which is enough for a garment, as supplements (to the letter), were recently delivered by messengers and they have arrived. My joy (over this) was great.

9/2

[illegible]

I am in good health here, and my attentiveness to the preservation and propagation of the religion and political affairs of Tibet is good.

Concerning the requirement of a legal confirmation document that (the old regulations) concerning the purchase of grass and the ownership of pastures, and concerning the fact that ... belongs really ... to the proper area of Glo-bo [Mustang] should remain, (the following has to be said):

In the water-ox (-year 1793) the inner and outer borders (of Tibet) were established according to the contents of the settlement document (*dpyad-mchams*), which (was drawn up) upon the instructions of the most high [i.e. the Chinese Emperor]. Hereafter it is no longer customary to issue legal decrees with seals (*bka'-śog tham-ka*) for places beyond the area of the jurisdiction of Tibet.

However, since you paid great reverence to the (Tibetan) government and as it is true that the residences of your cattlebreeder's families are considered to be in the jurisdiction of Tibet, in the *Sa-dga'* district, separate governing documents with seals were issued by both the government and the spiritual leader, (to the effect) that regarding the use of grass and the construction of enclosed resting places, disputes and seizures are not permitted, and it is not allowed to impose new taxes.

At ferry crossings[11] over the river named the *gCaṅ-po* [the Brahmaputra] on the right side of the path between *Sa-dga'* and *Glo-bo* the (old) ferries remain. New ferries must not be established.[12] As far as the ferries are concerned which were established by *Glo-bo,* they should remain, since they belong to those which could claim to exist from the water-ox (-year 1793) onwards without being new installations.

As far as (the payment) of the tithes of transit tolls to *Glo-bo* by the people of the north, be they agriculturalists or cattlebreeders, is concerned, they have to be paid by all subjects of the (Tibetan) Government.

With regard to the collection of the tax, named *'Byor-dod,* from the cattleherders of the religious and the government estates which are administered either by the *Bla-braṅ* or by the government, it must be kept in mind that it is suitable, if those belonging to the goverment or to the *Bla-braṅ* follow the old customs.

For the future we agree upon (the wish) that (your) life, which is the foundation for all that is holy and good, will long endure, and we desire also to ask that as an outflow of (your) good deeds letters will periodically be given here.

As supplements to the letter (there are) a ceremonial scarf and a bolt of *dPyad-lhan* material, on the eighth day of the second twelfth month."

Notes

1 See Regmi, pp. 272-; Stiller, pp. 179- ; Pant, pp. 51 - 55.

2 Regmi, p. 273.

3 Pant, pp. 54-

4 Regmi 2.

5 ADSD, Appendix, Document 23.

6 See ADSD, Appendix.

7 Źabs-druṅ is obviously a title of the brother of the ruler, who belongs as a monk to the clergy.

8 Obviously a designation of a female member of the royal family, who entered the clergy as a nun.

9 The meaning of *phyi-nan* is unclear to me.

10 ADSD, Document 13.

11 *sPyad-kha ko-sa* can not be found with this meaning in any dictionary.

12 This ferry was used also by Sven Hedin (Hedin, pp. 57-). According to Hedin's statement, the revenues from the use of the ferries went to a monastery called Liktse-gumba.

3.3. Political dependency between Mustang and Jumla in the 17th and 18th centuries

The relationship between Mustang and Jumla has up to now been dealt with within the context of the description of military conflicts.

The first indication of a military clash with Mustang is to be found in the second part of A. H. Francke's "Antiquities of Indian Tibet"[1], published in 1926. Of the documents edited and translated in this work, the section concerning Mustang, telling of a conflict in 1723, was later translated again by Petech[2]. The contents of the documents have been reported again by Jackson[3] and Gurung[4].

Ṭek Bahādur Śreṣṭa[5] mentions another military conflict between Jumla and Mustang that took place 4 years earlier, in 1719. Lastly, Jackson refers to battles between Mustang and Jumla that are supposed to have taken place in 1652[6]. More details of this military conflicts will be examined more closely in last chapter of this investigation.

It must be emphasised here that Jumla and Mustang were only two of the numerous petty states that were to be found in Nepal in the 17th and 18th centuries[7]. Between the different petty states there existed a great number of political relationships and agreements, establishing thus a peaceful - if also to some extent unstable - state of affairs in the region. The political relationships of these states were characterised by two basic structures, namely the formation of alliances and the practice of suzerainty.

In the western region of Nepal the special role to exercise a - to a certain extent only nominal - suzerainty, fell to Jumla. This is characterised by Stiller as follows[8]:

> "The western kingdoms recognized the suzerainty of Jumḷa, as did many of the Chaubisi as well. But this recognition was a mere formality, a remainder of the earlier supremacy of Jumla. According to Hamilton, the role of Jumla had been reduced to the point where its sole authority was to exhort the various princes of the Baisi and Chaubisi who recognized his suzerainty to maintain their tenuous balance of power, and to confer the royal "tika" on the heir to the throne of each state. He received from each of the rajas an annual embassy with a small gift."

In order to facilitate closer analysis of the position and role of Jumla as a major factor for the preservation of peace and order in western Nepal, we present a peace treaty drawn up in Tibetan. This treaty regulates the relationship between numerous small political units, mainly situated in the area of the modern day Mustang district.

The document was photographed in 1985, and again in 1987, in the palace of the King of Mustang, *'Jigs-med-dpal-bar,* and belongs to his archives. The broadside document is 45.5 cm high and 33.5 cm wide. Its condition is in places so bad that large sections are completely unreadable. The document bears the seals of 11 parties involved in making the treaty. The surviving sections of the Tibetan text contain no information regarding dates that would allow an inference to be made of the precise date of the drawing up of the treaty. Nevertheless, it can be concluded from the contents that the document dates from before the conquest of Jumla by Gorkha in 1789. Attached to the Tibetan text of the document there is an addendum in Nepali, worded as follows:

> śrī sāke 1627 yo thala juṃlā rājako āgyā. ḍorāl ṭhākurako so saṇ thaḷ jāḍ pātabhitra garyāko cha. yo pheṛ kanaile garni ma be tarā[9]

Although the interpretation of this text presents many difficulties, it seems that the statement of the date, sāke 1627, refers to the drawing up of the treaty, suggesting that it originates from 1705 A.D.

Text of the treatise (Document 6):

1 Z, 'juṃ-rgyal-po 'ba'-li-rā-ja daṅ, sa-ma'i rgyal-po jag-ti-śiṅ gi gye-ba, dkar-cho la rten nas, śri mahā-rā-ja big-raṃ-sras, gru'i rgyal-po ṇa-ran-smal gyi dkar-cho daṅ, śri mahā-
2 ra-ja bīr-bā-dhur-sras ki dkar-cho gźag-└p┘a mjad-par rten, bā-ti-ha-sar-ko ra-└ja┘ sde-ba daṅ, a-ṭha-└h┘ā-sar-ko ra-ja sma-└la┘ gñis, [dkar]-cho [m]jad-pa la, bar-skabs kyi
3 [±19S] 'bu[ṃ] gñ[i]s luṅ-pa 1 tu (bźugs) kyaṅ luṅ-└pa'┘[i] sgo naṅ, kā-lal rā-jā'i rjoṅ [smon-]
4 thaṅ gcaṅ-graṅ gñis, 'juṃ-laṅ gi mṅa'-źabs kyi sgo, de bzuṅ-mkhan sde-pa, ka-lal rā-ja-ko (phyag g.yas)-pa, de-rten bī-sras yab-sras gduṅ-rgyud kyi źabs-(rtog g└i┘)
5 phyir, sde-pa la gos-pa byuṅ-na, gru'i stobs kyi dmag, me-mda', rjas, ral-ldi, 'bru (sogs) gaṅ gos phul, (thags) soṃ gyi sa sor-ćhad phul-ba [±2S]in, ga-nas de-ltar
6 byas ph└y┘in, 'juṃ-laṅ gi (└rgyal┘)-po spaṅ-cha'i kya[ṅ], g[ru] la sṅar-ltar gyi mgo-'dren [±4S] sde-pa'i kyaṅ gru la phan gaṅ (thogs) mjad gyu yin, choṅ gi bskor nas
7 sṅar kyaṅ (thags)-pa'└i┘ sgan-ral gnas-└c┘haṅ, ld└e┘-pa la-(sogs) kyi khrim-med srol-mi└n┘ gyi phrog-choṅ (sogs) byed-sa med, śe-me-ba'i kyaṅ kli-buṃ du 'juṃ-laṅ gi

spaṅ-chai'i choṅ-pa [_]

8 sde-pa'i mi, dpon-druṅ khri-tho└g┘-pa (sogs), skyar-skya-gaṅ-pa'i źal-ṅo pho-mo ćhu-chan la yoṅ-ba, khra-choṅ, rgyal-po daṅ s└d┘ e-pa└'┘ i m└ṅ┘ a'-źabs, gźan kun la

9 s└r┘ ol-me└d┘ kh[r]i└m┘ -me[d] ([s[o└gs┘) [±1S] [m]i-b[y]ed [±10S] gaṅ-4r rcag-sab m└e┘ d-pa'└i┘ ćhad byed-sa m└e┘ d, └d┘ ṅul la yaṅ kli-buṃ du sṅar-

10 srol ltar las lhag-pa dkyil gyu └m┘ an, bkag tu 'dan dkyil-ba daṅ, kli-└buṃ┘ dṅul (sogs) dkyil-sa med, (thags) su mon daṅ bod └sṅ┘ ar-srol ltar gaṅ thad du kha thab-gyu

11 yin zo-ba'i naṅ du gser-ćaṅ lṅa 'gro-bar chad byed-gyu yin, rce'i naṅ du gser-ćaṅ byur-btaṅ gsuṃ gyi rcis byas-pa'i, rce-dhoṅ daṅ zo-ba cha└d┘ -└ma┘ phyag-(rtags) ćan la gnas

12 [rg]yu yin, └m┘ o└n┘ .└daṅ┘ .└b┘ od-[m]i (└s┘ [o]└gs┘) [y]o[ṅ] [s]ka[bs] [±5S] └kh┘ yad └b┘ yed-gyu man, └ch┘ a-phud ston-pa'i dus, khu-phyug nas rgya-'bras k└y┘ i źa-lu thug yin, cha-phud ston-pa

13 daṅ bkag tu dpon-druṅ-par goṅ-pa bźu-gos, ston-(lugs) blo-'o stod-smad kyi blo└n┘ -po, khri-pon gyi (rigs), dpon-druṅ khri-thog-pa (sogs) skyar-kya-gaṅ-pa'i └ź┘ al-ṅo ga└ṅ┘ -yod kun

14 śag-pa, kan-pa, smon-thaṅ caṅ-graṅ gi druṅ-'khor d└r┘ ag-(ri└gs┘) kha└ṅ┘ -└d┘ kar[r-[bl]o└n┘ -[p]o [±11S] └d┘ rag-(r[i]gs) (sogs) la [1S]

15 s[t]on [±7S] [s]d[e]-pa['i] mṅa'-źabs, sko-ra man, sa-(rtegs) yan, dol-(phyogs) kyi choṅ-pa (sogs) la sṅar gyi srol-sñiṅ man-pa, bar-skabs

16 srol-ṅan khrim-med (sogs), kli-buṃ, (thags) som (sogs) gaṅ du ya byed-gyu man, som-└b┘ u nas spyir sde-pa'i gsuṅ-bkod daṅ, de-rjes dpon-druṅ-pa (└s┘ o└gs┘) blo-'o stod-smad du śi└ṅ┘ -ćha

17 phul-ba la srol-min b[y]e└d┘ -└g┘ y[u] man, s[d]e-[pa]'i └ź┘ e└s┘ -khral, ([tha]└gs┘) └som┘ nas [±4S] sr[o]l ltar zog m└e┘ d, ras-ćha (rgyaṅ)-śiṅ, mduṅ-śiṅ, mda'-rñug, ga-snu

18 śiṅ (sogs), spus-gcaṅ phul-gyu yin, de-ltar byas phyin, smon-thaṅ, gcaṅ-graṅ (sogs) rjoṅ-mgo kun tu gñer-las-'jin, rto-la sku-chab (sogs) kyi, (thags) som gyi

19 choṅ-par, nor-naṅ ćhe-ćhuṅ gaṅ la yaṅ, phrog-choṅ khrim-med srol-min byed-gyu man, dṅul-ćaṅ skaṃ-ćaṅ (sogs) bar-s└k┘ abs kyi ćh└u┘ ṅ-ba gźa└l┘ .└n┘ as, zaṅ-kha

20 (sogs) └sñ┘ iṅ [±9S] [r]joṅ-└s┘ a'i naṅ la btaṅ-gyu min, bod kyi chva, chva ler zog sre-gyu man, (thags) som daṅ roṅ-pa'i nas la

21 zog daṅ 'bras la śo-po sre-gyu man, 'brog-pa kyaṅ sku-chab kyi lam nas kha thab ćiṅ, ja-bar kyaṅ gnas-chaṅ * gi * laṃ nas gter-gyu yin, bkag

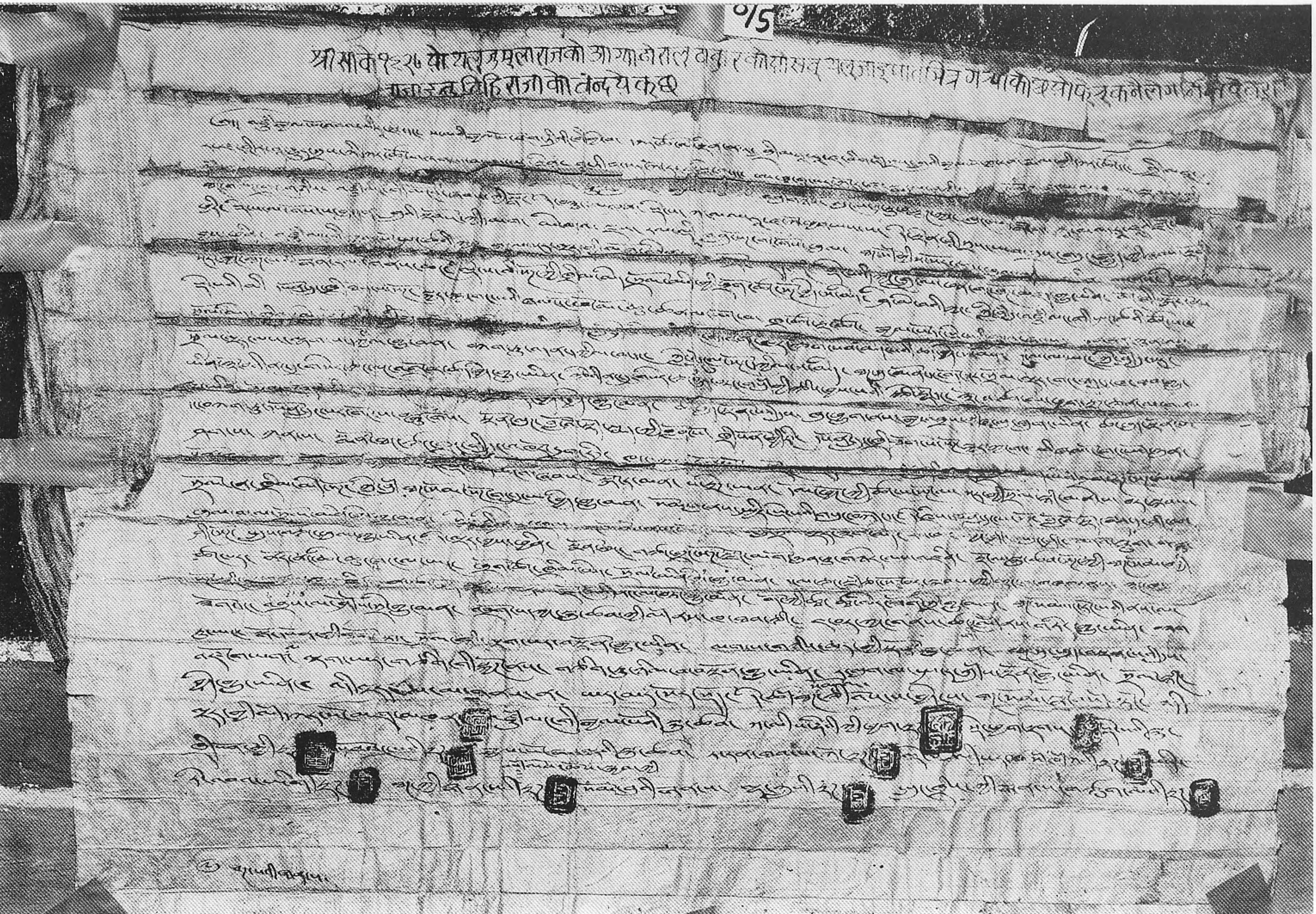
22 tu yaṅ, sgo-dpon gyi tho└b┘ -└staṅ┘, srol └sñ┘ i└ṅ┘ ltag-par bston-gyu yin, lag-pa gñis-ćhar gẏi sto└n┘ -gyu └man┘, (└th┘ ags) su phud bstan-pa'i dus

23 'jo g.yag * la *, ltag-yar gćig gi (skyogs) nas, gćig tu ñil-ba bston-gyu yin, ra lug la spa-ra kuṃ-pa ston-gyu yin, srol sñiṅ

24 byed-gyu yin/, 'di ltar └la┘ ma gnas na, yar-mar sor-sdod, de chaṃ (thags) * som la * ći 'os-pa byed-pa, (thags) som sno-bsaṃ btoṅ, 'di

25 ltar gyi laṃ dkar-po mjad-mkhan (seal impression) 'juṃ-laṅ gi rgyal-po'i sku-chab, ka-li-sa-rdi'i kyi phyag-(rtags) (seal impression) sde phyag-rtags (seal impression) sde-pa'i sku-[chab]

26 (khri-dpon) i (rtags) (seal impression) dpon-druṅ-pa'i (rtags) (seal impression) rgyal-po sma-lha'i sku-chab, ra-ran-thab-pa-ko (rtags) (seal impression) lde-└pa┘ 'di-par, saṃ-



kaṃ-ka'i (rtags) (seal impression) yer-
27 te 'ba'-(yig gi) (rtags) (seal impression) (thags) kyi rgan-pa'i * bsaṃ-lob-ćhos-skyab kyi * rtags) (seal impression) som-bu'i rgan-pa, lha-(klu-gi) (rtags) (seal impression) spuṅ-khris kyi rgan-pa gcug-la'i (rtags) (seal impression)
28 Z, (thags)-pa'i rgan-pa

1 śiṅ gi gyes-pa, brten nas 2 sras kyis, bźag-pa mjad-par brten 4 de brten, gduṅ-brgyud, źabs-tog 5 dgos-pa 'byuṅ-na, gaṅ-dgos 6 spaṅ-chas, sde-pas kyaṅ, mjad-rgyu, choṅ gi skor nas 7 rgan-gral, sde-pa la-sogs kyis khrims-med, phrogs-choṅ, śe-me-bas 9 khrims-med 10 skyil-rgyu, skyil-ba, skyil-sa, 'thab-rgyu 11 byed-rgyu, gsum gyis rcis 12 byed-rgyu, chva-phud bton-pa'i, khu-byug, chva-phud bton-pa 13 dgoṅs-pa źu-dgos, bton-lugs, glo-bo stod-smad, khri-dpon 15 bton [±7S], srol-rñiṅ 16 khrims-med, byed-rgyu 17 byed-rgyu, bźes-khral, rgyaṅs-śiṅ, duṅ-śiṅ, mda'-sñug 18 phul-rgyu, sogs kyis 19 phrogs-choṅ, khrims-med, byed-rgyu, zaṅs-kha 20 btaṅ-rgyu, bsre-rgyu 21 bsre-rgyu, 'thab ćiṅ bster-rgyu 22 thob-thaṅ, srol-rñiṅ rtag-par bton-rgyu, gñis-ćhar gyis bton-rgyu, bton-pa'i dus 23 mjo-g.yag, gćig gis bskyogs, bsñil-ba bton-rgyu, spar-ba bskum-pa bton-rgyu, srol-rñiṅ 24 byed-rgyu, de-mchams, mno-bsam gtoṅ 27 kyi rgan-pa

Translation:

"Based on the peace which was established over the division (of the country) by 'Ba-li-rā-ja[10], the King of 'Jum[-laṅ], and *Jag-ti-śiṅ*[11], the King of *Sa-ma*, and on the peace between *Big-ram-sras*[12], the glorious *Ma-hā-rā-ja*, and *Na-ran-smal*, the King of *Gru*[13],

and based on the peace, which was established by the glorious *Mahā-ra-ja Bir-bā-dhur-sras*[14], the *Bā-ti-ha-sar-ko ra-ja sDe-ba*[15] and the *A-ṭha-hā-sar-ko rā-ja sMa-la* have sworn peace.

Nowadays ... . both, ... and [-]-'bum are situated in one country; the inner gateway of this country, the districts of the *Ka-lal* King[17] *sMon-thaṅ*18 and *gCaṅ-graṅ*[19], are the gateway to the dominion of Jumla. He who governs this area, the *sDe-pa*, is the right hand of the *Ka-lal* King. Proceeding from here, in the event that the *sDe-pa* issues a requirement regarding service to the lineage, of the father and the sons, (of the King) *Bi-sras*[20], powerful troops from *Gru* are to be provided as well as rifles, tools, swords, grain, etc.

The regions of *Thags*[21] and *Som(-bu)*[22] have been granted autonomy ...

Accordingly, as long as these are handled like this, suzerainty over *Gru* (will be exercised) as previously by the customs offices[23] of the King of *'Jum-laṅ* ...

On the side of the *sDe-pa*, all must be done which is beneficial for *Gru*.

As far as commerce is concerned, even previously there was no possibility, that the successive elders of *Thags* and the gNas-chaṅ(-office)[24], as well as the *sDe-pa* and others, practise confiscation and forced selling[25] which are illegal and inappropriate to the (old) customs.

Likewise, with regard to the traders of customs

offices of *'Jum-laṅ,*
the office bearer of the *sDe-pa,*
the male and female members of the *sKyar-skya-sgaṅ-pa* aristocratic family[28], just as, for example, the *dpon-druṅ Khri-thog-pa*, who travel to Tatopani[29],
(with regard to) the traders of precious stones and the horse traders
and the subjects of the King (of Jumla) and of the *sDe-pa* and all others infringements of the law etc. which are inappropriate to the (old) customs should not be committed by *Śe-me-ba*[26] in *Kli-bum*[27].

...

In any respect there is no possibility of coursing hindrance, which blocks up free passage ...[30]

As far as silver is concerned additional amounts which exceed the (old) customs may not be collected in *Kli-bum* [Dana].

It is no possible to collect customs duties on grain[31] in *bKag* [Kagbeni] or customs duties on silver in *Kli-bum* [Dana].

In *Thags* (the people from) *Mon* and the Bhotias[32] have to settle their problems according to the old customs by discussions.

Measurements have been arranged in such a way that five *gSer-ćaṅ* (measures) fit in one *Zo-ba* (measure). After calculating one *rCe(-dhoṅ* measure) with three heaped *gSer-ćaṅ,* one has to rely on *rCe-dhoṅ* (measures) and *Zo-ba* (measures) of the appropriate size furnished with a seal impression.

If people from Mon and Bhotias come, ... they should not be treated as unequal.

The time in which the *Chva-phud* (-salt tax)[33] will be collected is from (the time of the) cuckoo until the (appearance) of the buckwheat seedlings[34]. During the collection of the *Chva-phud* tax, it is required that those in *bKag* ask the *dPon-druṅ-pa* for leave. As far as the collection (of the *Chva-phud* tax) is concerned the *Blon-po* from Upper Mustang (*Glo-bo stod*) and Lower Mustang (*Glo-bo smad*),
members of the group of *Khri-dpon,*
all existing members of the *sKyar-kya-gaṅ-pa* aristocratic family as for instance the *dPon-druṅ Khri-thog-pa,*
the *Śag-pa*, the *Kan-pa*, the *Druṅ-'khor*
and (all) members of the nobility of *sMon-thaṅ* and *Caṅ-graṅ*[19],
the *Khaṅ-dkar blon-po*
... ...
collect from the nobility etc.
... ...
With regard to the subjects of the *sDe-pa* (living) below *sKo-ra*[35] and above *Sa-rtegs*[36] and the traders from the region of *Dol(-po)* etc. bad habits, which have come up in the meantime, and unlawful actions inappropriate to the old customs shall not be committed at any place, be it *Kli-bum, Thags* or *Som(-bu).*

With regard to the orders of the *sDe-pa* or of the lower (ranked) *dPon-druṅ-pa* and with regard to the delivery of d to Upper (*Blo-'o-stod*) and Lower Mustang (*Blo-'o-smad*) it is generally not permitted by *Som-bu* to do anything which is not in accordance with custom.

As far as the bŹes-khral(-tax) for the *sDe-pa* is concerned, *Thags* and *Som(-bu)* have to deliver according to the (old) customs and without cloth,

long pieces of wood, ceiling rafters, wood for arrows, wood for saddleş etc.

As long as they (*Thags* and *Som-bu*) behave accordingly those entrusted with administrative duties as well as the representative of *rTo-la*[37] in all districts[38], as for example, in *sMon-thaṅ* and *gCaṅ-graṅ,* must not commit confiscation, forced selling and unlawful actions inappropriate to the (old) customs against the merchants from *Thags* and *Som(-bu)* or their property, be it big or small.

After the small (quantities) were measured at intervals with the *dṄul-ćaṅ* and *sKam-ćaṅ* (measures), the old with the *Zaṅs-kha* (measure) ...

... are not to be sent into the area of the district.

Tibetan salt and borax must not be mixed with other substances. Grain from *Thags* and *Som(-bu)* and from the southern gorges must not be mixed with other substances and rice must not be mixed with husks.

The nomads must performe their discussion by using a representative.

Tea bricks must be delivered through the *gNas-chaṅ* (office).

As far as the portion of the *sGo-dpon* in *bKag* is concerned, he has to take out a handful[38a] according to the old customs. He must not take it out with both hands. If the *Phud*(-tax) is collected in *Thags*, then with *mJo* and *g.Yag* (as transport animals) (the salt) is to be scooped with a double hand[39] and to be taken out with one shake. A fistful is to be taken out with goats and sheep (as transport animals). It is to be handled according to the old customs.

In the event that someone does not act accordingly[40], (in the event) that the upper and lower regions[41] live isolated from one another and moreover behave arbitrarily towards *Thag* and *Som(-bu),* then *Thag* and *Som(-bu)* must hereto employ deliberations.

(Seal of him who) had negotiated this peace in this way (seal impression).[42]

Seal of the representative of the King of *'Jum-laṅ,* of the *Ka-li-sa-rdi* (seal impression).
Seal of the *sDe(-pa)* (seal impression).

Seal of the representative of the *sDe-pa,* of the *Khri-dpon* (seal impression).

Seal of the *dPon-druṅ-pa* (seal impression).

Seal of the representative of the King *sMa-lha,* of the *Ra-ran-thab-pa* (seal impression).

Seal of the *sDe-pa-'di-par* (?) *Sam-kam-ka* (seal impression).

Seal of the *Yer-te-'ba'-yig* (?) (seal impression).

Seal of the *rGan-pa* of *Thags, bSam-lob-ćhos-skyab* (seal impression).

Seal of the *rGan-pa* of *Som-bu, lHa-klu* (seal impression).

Seal of the *rGan-pa* of *sPuṅ-khris, gCug-la* (seal impression)."

The two main parties between whom the aforementioned treaty of 1705 was reached are

the rulers of Mustang and Parbat. Both are mentioned in the treaty only by their titles. The ruler of Mustang is mentioned by his title *sDe-pa* and as the king (*ra-ja* = *rāja*) of the "Thirty-two thousand". The additional text in Nepalī noted above the Tibetan text of the document mentions the ruler of Parbat as Ḍorāl ṭhākura. In the Tibetan text he is mentioned as *sMa-la, rGyal-po sma-la* or King (*ra-ja*) of the "Eight thousand".

Early information about Parbat was reported by Hamilton, who visited Nepal in the years 1802 and 1803. It does not seem to be necessary to repeat these reports about Parbat, which Hamilton also names Malebum, as the details can be found in his book.[43]

Here we have to mention only that Parbat covered the southern part of the trade route between Tibet and Nepal, which passed through Mustang and Thak Khola. Parbat therefore was one of the southern neighbours of the Kingdom of Mustang. The capital of Parbat was Beni. The distance between the Muktināth Valley and Beni could be covered by a journey of three to four days.[44] According to Hamilton (p. 274) the area of Parbat comprised 100,000 households.

This last statement is to be regarded as very unreliable. Firstly, Stiller (p. 179) has already pointed out that this figure conflicts with the number of 8,000 households that Parbat is traditionally believed to have had. Secondly, Hamilton has included in the Kingdom of Parbat Muktināth and the Thak Khola district[41] which, even according to the peace treaty edited above, did not belong to Parbat in the 18th century.

According to the aforementioned document *Kli-bum,* the current-day Dana, was the northernmost outpost of Parbat. It must also be asked how far south the direct range of influence of the *sDe-pa* of Mustang extended. The document gives the region over which Mustang had power as covering *sMon-thaṅ* and *gCaṅ-graṅ*. The southern outpost is given as *Sa-rtegs*. This place appears to be one and the same as that given on maps as Sangdak (see footnote 36), but this identification is not reliable.

It seems, at any rate, that by 1705 Kagbeni and Baragaon no longer belonged to the Kingdom of Mustang. Kagbeni appears in Document 6 as an important border- and toll-point. The sovereigns of the royal house of *sKyar-kya-gaṅ-pa* ruling there are mentioned as *dpon-druṅ-pa,* or *dpon-druṅ Khri-thog-pa.* They form one of 11 parties that put their seals under the afore-mentioned treaty.

Between Baragaon and Dana there stretches an area that extends southwards to Gasa and northwards to Jomsom and that I here and in the following, on the basis of the terminological unequivocalness of meaning, refer to consistently as Thak Khola.[46] This area was granted a special status, described in the document under consideration, Document 6, as *Sor-chad*, and interpreted by me as autonomy. The Thak Khola was divided in the 18th century into three politically separate units, *Thak*[21], *Som-bu* (Thini) and *sPun-khris* (Marpha). All three settlements are included amongst the parties that put their seals to Document 6.

The conditions of political interdependency between Mustang and Jumla are clearly laid out in the document. The regions under the rule of the *sDe-pa* of Mustang are named as districts (*rjoṅ*) of the *kā-lal rā-jā,* that is, of the kings of the Kalyāla dynasty, ruling from Jumla. These districts are described as the innermost gateway

to the regions ruled over by Jumla. The king of Mustang is the right hand of the king of the Kalyāla dynasty. If the King of Mustang must go to war in support of the King of Jumla, the King of Parbat must give aid in the form of arms. It is interesting that in this demand for military aid, reference is made to the King of Jumla Vīrabahādur Śāhi (c. 1635-1665), for whom and for whose descendants the *sDe-pa* of Mustang was obliged to be available for military action. This can be seen as strong evidence that the dependence of Mustang on Jumla described here can be taken to have begun during the reign of Vīrabahādur Śāhi.

On the other hand, the commitment to military aid mentioned suggests that the region ruled over by Jumla included Parbat; however, the conditions of this political dependency are clearly expressed by the statement that Parbat (*Gru*) must be ruled under the leadership (*mgo-dren*) of a Bhansār-office[23] of the King Jumla.

Although the Nepali supplement to the text of the document refers to it as *jumla rajako agya*, "Decree of the King of Jumla", there is still no doubt that it deals with a peace treaty between various smaller states, all dependant politically on Jumla in different ways. The contractual agreement through which the terms of the relationships between these minor states were determined was doubtless achieved through the mediation of Jumla.

The first lines of the document provide interesting evidence of the legal understanding on the basis of which the new inter-state regulations were established. The basis of the agreement is not primarily the free will of those concerned, as is usually the case in private treaties in Tibetan law[47], or merely the agreement of those concerned to previous discussions, as is emphasised in treaties between the main political units of the Thak Khola, or in agreements on the legal rules within these main settlements.[48] Of course, without these elements this treaty would perhaps never have come about; yet it is mainly understood as the consequence and product of peace agreements (*dkar-cho*) that had been made by the founder of the Kalyāla dynasty and some of his descendants, and on which the workings of the treaty under consideration are based (*brten*). Thus the conclusion of peace (*dkar-cho mjad-pa*) brought about by the document under consideration first obtained its legitimacy from the guidance of past patterns of international relationship that had been created by former Kings of Jumla and other rulers.

Belonging next to this complex is a reprimand in reference to the treaty between Balīrāja, the first King of the new royal dynasty of Jumla, and King Jaktisimha, in which Jaktisimha conferred the rule over Jumla on Balīrāja. This treaty was probably concluded at the beginning of the 15th century.[49] By this treaty the rule of the Kalyāla dynasty over Jumla was clearly established, and its relationship to the domain of Jaktisimha settled.

The second treaty mentioned in the document under consideration was drawn up between Vikramaśāhi, reigning over Jumla at the beginning of the 17th century, and Nārāyaṇa Malla, a King of Parbat. It obviously fixed the relationship between Jumla and Parbat.

The last mentioned peace agreement concerns, finally, not a treaty, but the setting up of a federal system, based on one or more regulations laid down by the King of Jumla, Vīrabahādur Śāhi, around the middle of the 17th century. We

can conclude from this that under Vīrabahādur Śāhi, Mustang became directly dependant on Jumla, and that the rules and regulations laid down by this ruler directed the relationship between Jumla and Mustang.

It can be concluded from the above that the dominance of Jumla, for Mustang in particular, meant entanglement in a hundred-year-old, continuously developing system of inter-state regulations between many petty states including the political units of Thak Khola and the Kingdom of Parbat, revived and reformed by successive rulers.

The hegemony of Jumla in this federal system was based to some extent on the historically well-established high prestige of its dynasty, but also on its comparatively great military potential.

For Mustang, this domination by Jumla meant the pledge of military assistance to the King of Jumla explicitly defined in Document 6. Additionaly there was the pledge to deliver tribute.

Mustang's pledge to deliver tribute certainly existed not only in respect to this single sovereign; shortly before the conquest of Jumla by Gorkha, the King of Mustang had to deliver annually to Jumla 929 rupañā and five horses. At the same time it had to meet the pledge to pay 71 rupañā to the Tibetan administration in Lhasa. From what we could deduce from the document by Raṇabahādūra Sāha dating from 1790, published in ADSD, the King of Nepal, as new sovereign of Mustang, ordered even the continuation of the annual payment of this tribute (sirto) to Lhasa.

Yet another document available to me shows that even Jumla, like the Kingdom of Mustang dominated by it, surrendered a yearly tribute to the Tibetan ruler. This document again demonstrates the complexity of the reciprocal dependency characterising the relationships of the various states of the western Himalayas, both to each other and to their huge neighbour of the Tibetan highlands.

The document presented below was filmed in Mustang in 1989. It comes from the private collection of a person called *Mi-'gyur*, living in Lo Monthang. It is written in the form of a travel document, by which the *Sa-chig* units responsible for the transportation system were at times commanded to guarantee the food-supply of the horses sent as a tribute from Jumla to the ruler in Lhasa, and their eight attendants, whilst en route. The document gives the name of the recipient of the tribut as *sa-skyoṅ mi-dbaṅ ćhen-po*, by which the Tibetan ruler *Pho-lha-nas* is commonly known. The document was drawn up on the 20th calendar day of the 8th month of Wood-Hare Year, corresponding with the 6th of October, 1735.

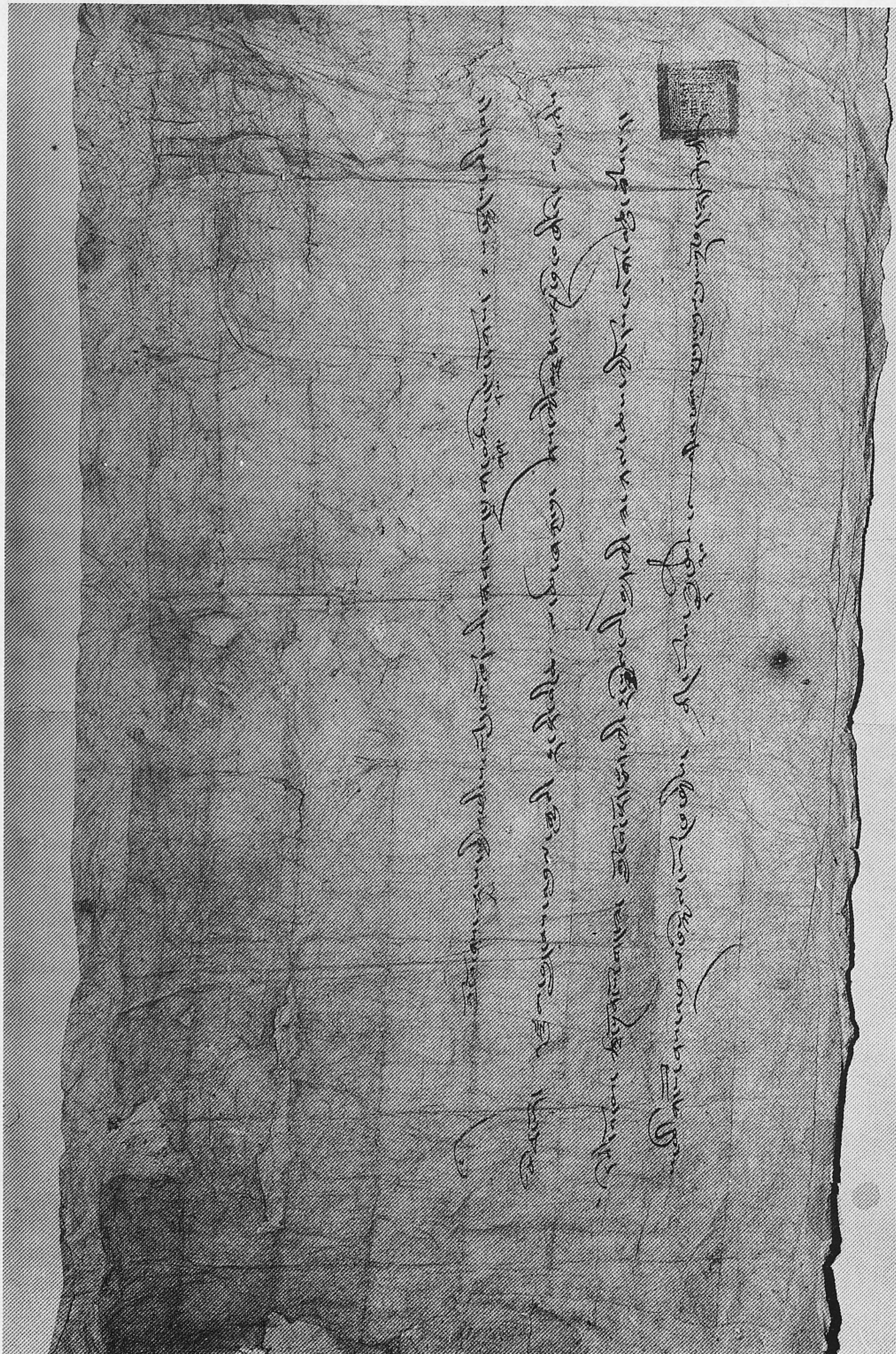
Text of the document (Dokument 7):

1 Z, glo-bo nas lha-sa phyin gyi sa-laṃ du mkhod-pa'i rgan-dmaṅ drag *źan* bćas *nas* ṅes-dgos, Z , sa-skyoṅs mi-dbaṅ

2 ćhen-por, 'jum-blaṅ nas 'bul-rgyu'i, rta sti-bi ćh[--] la cha-źag su, nas kyi brjen-(btags) bre bźi re, ba ˪g˩ ñis

3 re'i 'o-ma, rcva sṅon-po gaṅ za, glo-bo stod-smad kyi rta-skyel mi (brgyad) kyi za-ñal-ćhas kyi dos-'go bću-thaṃ-par

4 sa-chig (so-so) nas 'phral-bskyel yoṅ-ba gyis, śiṅ-yos zla *8* ches *20* la 'di-pa Zźabs-pad du 'bul du 'gro-bar sñad-med gyis (seal impression)



1 'khod-pa'i rgan-dmaṅs 2 rjen-btags 3 kyi dod-sgor 4 sa-chigs, 'phral-skyel

Translation:

"It is to be observed by the elder and the people, the aristocracy and the commoners, who live on the way from *Glo-bo* to *Lha-sa*:

For the two-year old horses, which are to be submitted from *'Jum-laṅ* to the protector of the earth, the great *Mi-dbaṅ*, from the respective *Sa-chigs* stations (the following) must be supplied immediately: as fodder four *bre* of raw ground barley, the milk of two cows, as much fresh grass as they eat, and for eight people from Upper and Lower Mustang who bring the horses (to Lhasa) as substitutes for board and lodging ten monetary units.

The 30th Calender day of the eighth month of the *Śin-yos*-year.

These, who journey to submit something to the *Źabs-pad*, should be left undisturbed!"

The Nepali King Raṇabahādūra Sāha also ordered the additional payment of taxes (dastura) to Mustang by the districts of Thak, Thini, Baragaon, Nar and Manang, although until this time these districts were in no way subordinate to Mustang. From Document 19, published in ADSD, one can deduce that in 1833, the sovereigns of Baragaon were still obliged to deliver to the king of Mustang annually at different times a 2-year-old horse, 8 rupaiyā and a ceremonial scarf as rakam-tax. Whereas a decree by the 9th Dalai Lama, dating from 1724 refers to the tribute to be paid by Mustang to Lhasa as *dus-khral,* Document 6 calls the tribute to be delivered by Thak and Sombu to the King of Mustang *bźes-khral*, and lists it as cloth, wooden planks, roofbeams, and wood for arrows and saddles.

The delivery of the tribute to Tibet and Jumla was apparently combined with the reciprocal exchange of presents.

We find in the Monthang Bemchag (p.8) a commentary on the manner of delivery (*phul-lugs*) of the taxes (*khral*) to *gCaṅ*, doubtless meaning the tribute delivered to the ruling Tibetan administration of that time.[50] In the Monthang Bemchag (p. 8), the amount of the tribute is given as 70 dṅul, which is on a par with the sum of 70 *rgya-ṭam* mentioned in the Document of the 9th Dalai Lama, drawn up in 1724. In addition to this monetary sum, a roll (*yug gćig*) of silk was to be delivered. A roll of fabric (*ras*) was presented to the *bka'-blon*. The *mgron-gñer* received the same. In return, the recipient of the tribute presented the King of Mustang a roll of good quality brocade (*gos-ćhen yug dga'-ba gćig*).

As regards Jumla, the Monthang Bemchag (p. 1) mentions that two rolls of cloth of the best quality were delivered to the King of Mustang on behalf of the King of Jumla. The King of Mustang was also given a roll of cloth on behalf of each of the following: the younger princes, the queen, and also the *phyi-blon* and the two *naṅ-blon*. Even the *gñer-pa* of the Jumla administration were at times required to hand over four yards of cloth.

Another important factor of the relationships between the states in the Jumla-dominated federal system of West Nepal was the regular dispatching of delegations from Jumla to the allied petty states. These visits were certainly no cause for celebration by the states that received

them. The members of these delegations levied presents, and had to be offered hospitality. This placed a considerable economic burden on the regions visited.

The Monthang Bemchag is principally a record of the financial sums, agricultural produce and other items levied during the sojourns of the various delegations of Jumla that generally visited Mustang annually. Yet these were not merely general records; precise records were made of the sums and produce handed over to any particular delegation in each specified year. The following delegations were recorded in detail:

1. Delegation of the *blon-po 'Jam-gha-ta* in the *Me-glaṅ* year 1637 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 4).[51]

2. Delegation of the blon-po *Sram-śiṅ* in the *Sa-stag* year 1638 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 4).

3. Delegation of the blon-po *Sram-śiṅ* and *Padma* in the *Sa-yos* year 1639 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 5).

4. Delegation of the *blon-po 'Ja'-gha-ti* and *Padma* in the *lĆags-brug* year 1640 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 5).

5. Delegation of the *yid 'Ja-sa-rmal* and a representative of the *naṅ-blon* in the *lĆags-byi* year 1660 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 6).

6. First visit of the King *'Bi-sras* [= Vīrabahādur Śāhi] with a retinue of 600 people in the *Sa-khyi* year 1658 (Monthang Bemchag, pp. 9-10).

7. Delegation of a *naṅ-blon* and a *phyi-blon* in the *Me-sbrul* year 1677 (Monthang Bemchag, p. 11).

8. Delegation of the King *Bir-ri-pa* [possibly Vīrabhadra Śāhi, the successor of Vīrabahādur Śāhi] in the *Sa-kyi* year 1683 (Monthang Bemchag, p.11).

Once again we can deduce from the above that Jumla's exercise of its sovereignty over Mustang was firmly established by at least the reign of Vīrabahādur Śāhi, i.e. the 1630s.

It is naturally small wonder that, in the period of approximately 150 years during which Mustang belonged to the group of states dominated by Jumla, the relationship between Mustang and Jumla was not entirely free of conflict. However, before considering the main causes of these conflicts, we should note that military action was not only used to solve them; for example, one quarrel that broke out between Jumla and Mustang in 1754 was finally settled by an agreement negotiated by the 7th Dalai Lama.

The intervention of the 7th Dalai Lama in the dispute between Mustang and Jumla is mentioned in his autobiography, in the account of the events of the year 1755, as follows:[52]

> glo-bo smon-thaṅ-pa'i pha-spun dge-luṅ-pa o-rgyan-bdud-'joms zer-ba jum-li'i blo-gtad yin-par smon-thaṅ raṅ daṅ re-'khaṅ la brten glo-bos rkyen-lam du btaṅ-bar / jum-li nas de'i rgyab laṅs kyis glo jum 'khrug-ziṅ gi rnam-pa śiṅ-khyi nas byuṅ-bar / jum-li nas glo-bor gźuṅ nas ćhad-pa gćod-dgos kyi źu-yig lan-maṅ / glo-bo nas kyaṅ jum-li nas 'os-min gyis glo-bor dmag bćug-pa sogs la 'thab-ya mi byed mthu-med bćas gźuṅ nas kyaṅ dmag-rogs dgos-chul źu-ba'i baṅ-mi daṅ yi-ge lan du-mar phul-ba la / dmag-rogs sogs mi 'os-pa'i las de rigs mi yoṅ źiṅ / 'on-kyaṅ glo-jum gñis-ka gźuṅ nas skyoṅ-'os su

ma-zad phyogs de-dag gi 'gro-ba'i phan-bder dgoṅs-pa'i legs-spel gyi sku-chab ćhed-mṅags scal-rgyu'i bka'-bzaṅ phebs te ṅor-mkhan-po las-thog-pa daṅ / [280v] sa-dga'-'go-pa bde-yaṅs-rab-'byams-pa dge-'dun-yar-'phel gñis legs-spel du ćhed-gñer gnaṅ-gdoṅ phan-chun so-sor rnam-smin brnag-par dka'-ba'i mi dge-ba'i 'khrug-rcod sogs med-par 'khon-bzlums bde-'jags su gnas dgos-pa'i bka'-rgya daṅ / gnaṅ-rten bzaṅ-po bćas mṅags-rjoṅ mjad-pa bźin legs-spel dan-'khyol thog jum-li'i rgyal-po pha 'das gśis sras 'ju zer-ba khrir 'khod-rgyu la da-lam bdag-cho'i luṅ-pa dkar-por gtoṅ-mkhan bka'-drin-ćan bod kyi rgyal-ba thams-ćad mkhyen-pas khri-bkod brce-bas gzigs-dgos nan-gyis źu 'dug-chul ṅor-mkhan-po daṅ sa-dga'-'go-pa gñis legs-spel gtan-khel grub-pa'i mjal-phyag tu 'byor-thog źus-par / gźan-phan du dgoṅs jum-li źu-nan ltar legs-spel-ba gñis kyi ṅo-chab re khri-'don du ćhed-mṅags gnaṅ-ba'i gdoṅ khrir-bkod kyi legs-skyes rnams bdag-gir 'jin-pa daṅ / slad-nas kyaṅ rgyal-srid dge-ba bću daṅ ldan-pa'i sgo-nas bde-bar skyoṅ-dgos kyi bka'-rgya rten-gser / gos dar sogs bzaṅ-po // jum-li sa ćhen-po bde-bar skyoṅ-ba'i tham-ga thams-ćad du bkra-śis dge źes-pa legs-sbyar kyi skad du bsgyur-ba lañcha-nar bris-pa'i gru-bźi daṅ / rtags-thel sgor-mor lakṣmi źes-pa lañcha-nar bris-pa dmar-por 'beb-rgyu ćha-'grig / bzaṅ-gos kyi gyon-pa / gser-dṅul / dpyad-pa / gos-dar rta sogs spams mtho-ba / sras blon daṅ / glo-bo dge-luṅ-pa bćas so-sor yaṅ gsol-ras / ṅor-mkhan-po daṅ / sa-dga'-'go-pa rab-'byams-pa gñis nas kyaṅ legs-bsdum bgyi 'os-chul bźin byuṅ-bar mchar-dga'i gsol-ras gya-nom-pa scal /

"Based on the fact, that the uncle of the (sovereign) of *Glo-bo sMon-thaṅ*, the (sovereign) of *dGe-luṅ* (whose name is) *O-rgyan-bdud-'Joms*, was directly subordinated to Jumla, hatred arose from the site of *sMon-thaṅ* because of unfulfilled expectations.

Due to this he (the ruler of *dGe-luṅ*) was killed by Mustang. Since hereafter Jumla supported the side (of the dead uncle), the danger of a military conflict between Mustang and Jumla resulted in the wood-dog (-year 1754).

Many times petitions came from Jumla that Mustang should be punished by the (Tibetan) government. Letters were also submitted at many times from Mustang, and envoys came maintaining that an unwarranted war had been started by Jumla against Mustang. (They argued) that it was unavoidable (for Mustang) to defend itself, and that the (Tibetan) government should give military assistance.

Hereto came the excellent order of the (7th Dalai Lama), that it should not come to unwarranted activities like military assistance. But since it is true that both Mustang and Jumla deserve to be protected, and considering the well-being of the inhabitants of this area, special representatives (of the Dalai Lama) should be made available to enhance peace.

(Therefore) the acting abbot (*mkhan-po*) of *Ṅor*(-monastery) and the *'go-pa* of *Sa-dga'* (named) *bde-yaṅs-rab-byams-pa dGe-'dun-yar-'phel* were especially entrusted to settle peace. They were specifically dispatched with excellent gifts and an edict (of the Dalai Lama) (which said) that it was necessary for them to abandon their sinful fighting, which are intolerable to the ripening of their respective (Karma), and that

they should, under the reconciliation of differences, live in peace.

After this, when the conclusion of peace was nearing its finalization, the father, King of Jumla, died.

For the enthronement of the prince named *'Ju*, the (following) urgent petition was made: "it is necessary that he who has the kindness to establish peace in our land, the Jina of Tibet, the All Knowing, should graciously consider undertaking the enthronement."

This was submitted (to the 7th Dalai Lama) at the moment when the *Ṅor-mkhan-po* and the *Sa-dga'-'go-pa* arrived for a personal audience after the finalization of the peace treaty.

Considering the benefits for others and fulfilling the urgent request from Jumla, the dispatching of one representative for each of the two peace negotiators for the enthronement was granted.

The offerings for the enthronement were provided and a decree was (granted, saying) that from now onwards it would be necessary to rule the country peacefully in accordance with the ten (Buddhist) virtues. Attached to (this decree) were excellent things like gold, silk etc.

A square seal was prepared (bearing the following inscription), translated into Sanskrit and written in the *Lañcha-na*-script: "The seal of who peacefully rules the great realm of Jumla, good fortune in everything, hail," and a round "symbol seal,"[53] to be stamped with red colour written in the *Lañcha-na*-script bearing the inscription lakṣmi.

Clothes made out of good brocade, gold and silver, objects[54], silk, horses etc. of great beauty (were consigned). Gifts were (consigned) at that time for the princes and ministers including the (*sde-pa*) of Mustang (*Glo-bo*) and *dGe-luṅ*.

Since the prescriptions of the peace settlement were observed, the *Ṅor-mkhan-po* and the *Sa-dga'-'go-pa rab-'byams-pa* granted wonderful gifts of great size."

The granting of official seals in connection with the enthronement of the Jumla King *Sūryabhāna Śāhi*, as well as the sending of a decree must be seen as an attempt to bring Jumla formally into sphere of influence of the Tibetan government. Moreover the decree itself intended to change the basis of the exercise of political authority in Jumla towards the Tibetan lamaistic ideology.

The basis for such an endeavour was obviously the great prestige of the 7th Dalai Lama, representing the centre of the Central Asian Buddhist world of the 18th century. This importance had partially been the basis for the request to the 7th Dalai Lama to intervene in the dispute between Jumla and Mustang, and for the request that the enthronement of the new King of Jumla should be enacted by him or his representatives.

The attempt by the Lhasa administration to establish superiority over Jumla was not successful. The rising military power of the Gorkhas swept away the kingdom of Jumla a few decades later, and threatened even Lhasa so severely that they could only be warded off with the aid of Chinese intervention. However, this endeavour is of historical interest in the development of the system of interstate relations, as Tibet, with its centre in Lhasa, and Western Nepal, with its centre in Jumla, are historically first noted as rivals and antagonistic entities. If the attempt had

been successful, the area of western Nepal dominated by Jumla would have been included in the system of small states influenced by Lhasa as a dependent unit.

This development would have changed the position of Mustang considerably. But since the policy of Lhasa was finally unsuccessful, the position of Mustang remained up to 1793 the same as it had been for more than a hundred years, that is, the point of intersection of two competing systems of authority.

The conflict that began in 1754 was caused by the separaration of *dGe-luṅ* from Mustang, and its immediate attachment to Jumla. This detachment of a district that had been under the rule of the King of Mustang for many centuries was just one of the last of a series of measures by the King of Jumla that had successivelyrobbed Mustang of its hegemony over a large part of the area formerly under its authority. Of particular interest here are the Muktināth Valley, *Dol-po*, *rTa-rab* and *Char-kha*. This reduction of his kingdom decreased the direct influence of the King of Mustang to the small heartland of Mustang, comprising the districts of *sMon-thaṅ* and *gCaṅ-graṅ*, mentioned in the treaty of 1705 (Document 6) as the domain of the *sDe-pa*. It is obvious that this policy posed a serious threat to the ruler of Mustang, and was understood by them as such. So in 1836, the ruling *sDe-pa* announced in a royal charter that the state (*rgyal-srid*) of Mustang (*Blo-bo*) was close to annihilation (ćhag-'jigs) before the subjugation of Jumla by Gorkha.[55]

The example of Mustang clarifies one aspect of the process of the political fragmentation of Western Nepal[56] that has hitherto been ignored, that is, the deliberate policy of splitting up larger domains into smaller units more easily controlled by the central authority in Jumla. This system of smaller units had in its organisational structure the possibility for many different permutations. How far these organisational patterns could differ, and what kind of special, highly interesting developments this confederate system of West Nepal allowed, are examined in the following two examples, that is, the political systems of the Thak Khola and the Muktināth Valley.

Notes

1 Francke, pp. 228-235.
2 Petech, pp. 89-
3 Jackson 2, p. 222.
4 Gurung, pp. 224-
5 Shrestha, pp. 76-
6 Jackson 2, p. 220.
7 See Stiller, pp. 32-74.
8 Stiller, p. 58.
9 I am gratful to Mr. Mahes Raj Pant for the transliteration and interpretation of this addendum.
10 This is the famous King Balirāja who founded a new dynasty in Jumla in the 15th century. See Pandey, pp. 45-, Tucci 1, pp. 121- and p.130.
11 Identical with the King Jaktisimha of the 15th century, mentioned in Pandey, p. 46.
12 This is King Vikramaśāhi, who according to Pandey 1, pp. 42-, ruled in Jumla from 1602-1621. Mentioned also in Tucci 1, p. 124.
13 *Na-ran-smal* is the King Nārāyaṇa Malla of Parbat, mentioned by Shrestha 1, p. 7. Shresta does not give any dates for his reign but mentions that he lived at the same time as King *Mukunda Sena* of *Pālpā*. Jackson was the first to suggest that *Gru* and Parbat might be the same (Jackson, p. 154; Jackson

2, p. 222). The same supposition is given by Gurung, p. 235. Jackson's supposition is now confirmed with certainty by this passage of the treaty.

14 This is *Vīrabahādur Śāhi*, who ruled over Jumla according to Pandey 1, pp. 45-, from 1635-1665.

15 *bā-ti-ha-sar-ko ra-ja sde-ba* is a title of the ruler of Mustang. *bā-ti* is a transcription of Nepalī *battis* "thirty-two" and *ha-sar* is a transcription of Nepalī *hajār* "thousand". So this title can be translated as "*sDe-pa*, who is Rāja of the thirty-two thousand (households)".

16 *a-ṭha-hā-sar-ko ra-ja sma-la* is the title of the king of Parbat (*Gru*). In the scientific literature the name *sma-la, smal* or *mal-la* is treated as a family or dynasty name for different ruling houses of Western Nepal and Western Tibet (See Tucci 1, Index, Malla, Samāl, sMal and rMal). In the title cited above the word *a-ṭha* is a transcription of Nepalī *āṭh* "eight" and *ha-sar* again corresponds to Nepalī *hajār*. Thus the title can be translated as "*sMa-la*, who is Rāja of eight thousand (households)". Stiller (p. 179) has already mentioned, that the domain of Parbat comprised 8,000 housholds.

17 *ka-lal* is a transcriptio of *kalyāla*, the name of the dynasty of the ruling house of Jumla, founded by *Balīrāja*.

18 This is the capital of Lo. The present-day designation of this area, Mustang, derives from this name of the former capital. See Jackson, pp. 5-

19 This place is recorded as Tsarang in the map of Jackson, p. 223. See also Tucci, p. 57; Snellgrove, pp. 90-97 and pp. 193-

20 = *Vīrabahādur Śāhi*. See footnote 14.

21 This mentioning of *Thags* besides *Som-bu* shows that in the beginning of the 18th century *Thags* did not comprise the area, which is described by Fürer-Haimendorf (pp. 132-), Vinding 1 (pp. 51-), Snellgrove (pp. 174-) and other writers as Thak khola or T'hāk. Thini (= *Som-bu*) for instance did not belong to *Thags*. The final protocol of document 6 mentions among the parties involved in the signing of the treaty a place called *sPun-khris* which according to my informants was situated in the area of present-day Marpha. We have to assume that *Thags* comprised the area from Thugche in the north to Gasa in the south. Panchgaon or, as it is called in Tibetan, *Yul-lṅa* (See Fürer-Haimendorf, pp. 134-; Vinding 1, p. 53, Ramble-Vinding, p. 5), the area of the settlements Marpha, Shyang, Thini, Chairo and Cimang, obviously never belonged to *Thags*.

22 This is the old name for present-day Thini.

23 *spaṅ-cha* is a transcription of the Nepalī term *bhansār* which according to Turner (p. 469) designates "The Nepalese office which collects customs duties". ADSD list in its glossary *bhaṃsāra* "customs duties".

24 Here the word *gnas-chaṅ* cannot mean simply "sleeping-place" or "night-quarters". For this we have to compare with line 21 of this document 6. There it is mentioned that certain amounts of a were distributed through the *gNas-chaṅ*-office.

25 *phrogs-choṅ* is interpreted here by me as an abbreviation of *phrogs-bćom daṅ 'bam-choṅ*.

26 These are probably people from a place called *Śe-me*. This place must be situated near Tatopani, since the people of *Śe-me* controlled the entrance to this settlement.

27 Situated between Tatopani and *Thags*. The present-day Dana.

28 This is the family-name of the dukes of the Muktināth Valley. Up to now this name has been mentioned only by Jackson 2, p. 220. *sKyar-skya-sgaṅ* is the place where this noble family settled first when they shifted to Mustang. The place is situated near *sMon-thaṅ*. For more details see chapter five.

29 Tibetan *Ćhu-chan*. "hot water" is a translation of the place-name Tatopani.

30 According to oral communication of Charles Ramble there is an expression in Baragaon "tsak tsak", used for walking drictly without stopping. There *rcag-sab* here may have the meaning "free passage".

31 *'dan* is obviously Nepalī *dānā* "grain". See Turner, p. 309.

32 Mon designates here the area south of the Tibetan border inhabited by people which do not belong to the Bhotias, whereas the term *Bod* here designates the Bhotias, including the inhabitants of Northern and Southern Mustang, who speak a Tibetan dialect.

33 The name *cha-phud* indicates that this tax was levied only at the beginning of the yearly salt trade.

34 This seems to be the time between spring (the cuckoo is considered to be the messenger of the spring; see Dagyab, p. 64) and early summer.

35 This is the *Kore-la* pass found in the map of Hedin. The pass forms the border between Mustang and Tibet. See Hedin, pp. 56-64.

36 *Sa-rtegs* is obviously a place on the southern border of the domain ruled by the *sDe-pa* of Mustang. It might be identified with the place Sangdak found in the map of Dolpo published by Snellgrove, p. 297. For a short description of this place see Snellgrove, p. 163. Snellgrove however interpretes this name as *saṅ-dag* "pure and clean". See also Snellgrove 1, Vol. I, map and index.

37 *rto-la* is a transcription of Ḍhorāl, that is the name of the residence of the King of Parbat (Hamilton, p. 274). The Nepalese text on the top of this document 6 mentiones the title *ḍhoral thākura*.

38 Here I treat the term *rjoṅ-sgo* as a synonym of the Tibetan word *rjoṅ*.

38a According to WD the term *ltag-pa gaṅ* is used in the language of Mustang with the meaning "a handful". The following order, not to take out anything with two hands, confirms, that *ltag-pa* and *ltag-pa gaṅ* have the same meaning.

39 According to WD *ltag-yar* means the palms of the hands placed together.

40 This is the beginning of the final protocol. I have to point out that the following translation cannot be taken as certain.

41 *yar-mar*: I suggest that *yar* designates the area of Mustang and *mar* the area of Parbat, since these are the main parties of this treaty.

42 This seal has the inscripton *rgya*. It may be true that this seal was also used by the *dpon-druṅ-pa*, as both seal impressions are very similar. Moreover I suggest that also other parties of this treaty also used the same seal. For instance the seal impressions of *Ra-ran-thab-pa* and *Sam-kam-ka* look very similar.

43 See Hamilton, Index, Malebum.

44 See also Kirkpatrick, p. 287.

45 Hamilton, pp. 272-.

46 I do not take Baragaon as a part of Thak Khola. Von der Heide, p. 1, uses the term Thak Khola with the same meaning.

47 The corresponding term in Tibetan private legal documents is *blos-blaṅs*. See Schuh 4, p. 105.

48 Compare chapter 4.1.

49 See Pandey, pp. 45-50. According to Pandey *Balīrāja* became King of Jumla in 1404.

50 This mentioning of *gCaṅ* must be taken as evidence that obligation to pay tributes to Tibet already existed before the time of the 5th Dalai Lama. Initially this tribute was paid to the ruler of *gCaṅ*. After the defeat *gCaṅ* the right to receive these payments shifted to the new government in Lhasa.

51 The Monthang Bemchag does not mention the *Rab-byuṅ*-cycle in which these delegations were sent. Nevertheless the identification of the years of these delegations is possible thanks to the fact that the reigning period of King Vīrabahādur Śāhi is known. Besides, I presume that the information about the delegations sent to Mustang were recorded in the Monthang Bemchag according to their chronological order.

52 DL7, Fol. 480r und 480v. This conflict was first mentioned by Shakabpa, p. 151.

53 For this type of seal see Schuh 5, p. 15.

54 Here I read *spyad-pa*, and understand this term as *yo-spyad* "objects".

55 The document mentioned here was photographed in Mustang in 1987. It was issued in the *Me-spre*-year 1836. Due to heavy damage the formula giving the title is completely missing. This is why the name of the issuing ruler cannot be determined.

56 See Stiller, pp. 37-47.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

Aarne The Types of the Folktale. A Classification and Bibilography. Antti Aarne's Verzeichnis der Märchentypen Translated and Enlarged by Stith Thompson. Helsinki 1973

ADSD Mahes Raj Pant (and) Philip H. Pierce: Administrative Documents of the Shah Dynasty Concerning Mustang and its Periphery (1789-1844 A.D.). Bonn 1988

Bielmeier Roland Bielmeier "Zur Stellung des Dialektes von Mustang in Nepal" in Formen kulturellen Wandels und andere Beiträge zur Erforschung des Himālaya. Sankt Augustin 1986, pp. 431-450 (= Nepalica 2/15)

Bod-rgya Bod-rgya chig-mjod ćhen-po. Beijing 1985

Dagyab L. S. Dagyab: Tibetan Dictionary. Dharmsala 1966

Dag-yig Dag-yig gsar-bsgrigs. mCho-sṅon mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khaṅ 1979

DL7 rGyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po thams-ćad mkhyen-gzigs rdo-rje-'ćhaṅ blo-bzaṅ-bskal-bzaṅ-rgya-mcho-dpal-bzaṅ-po'i žal-sṅa-nas kyi rnam-par-thar-pa mdo-cam brjod-pa dpag-bsam rin-po-ćhe'i sñe-ma, Blockprint, 558 fols. Biography of the 7th Dalai Lama, written by lĆaṅ-skya-qutuqtu Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje

Ehrhard Franz-Karl Ehrhard "Tibetan Sources on Muktināth" in Ancient Nepal, Number 134, July-August 1993, pp. 23-41.

Francke A. H. Francke: Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II. New Delhi 1972 (reprint = 1926)

Fürer-Haimendorf Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf: Himalayan Traders. London 1975

Gauchan-Vinding Surendra Gauchan and Michael Vinding "The History of the Thakaali According to the Thakaali Tradition" in Kailash, Vol. 5 (1977), pp. 97-184

Gurung Jagmān Gurūng "Jyampā gumbāko karchyāgmā ..." in Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 13, no. 2. pp. 215-238

Hamilton Francis Buchanan Hamilton: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal. New Delhi 1986 (Reprint = 1819)

Hedin Sven Hedin: Transhimalaya. Entdekkungen und Abenteuer in Tibet. Zweiter Band. Leipzig 1909

Herrmann Silke Herrmann " Erzählungen aus Din-ri" in Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke vom Dach der Welt. Tibetisches Erzählgut in Deutscher Fassung. Band 3: Viehzüchtererzählungen sowie Erzählgut aus sKyid-groṅ und Din-ri. Sankt Augustin 1982, pp. 133 - 266 (= Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung, Band 3)

Jackson David P. Jackson: The Mollas of Mustang. Historical, Religious and Oratorical Traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan Borderland. Dharamsala 1984

Jackson 1 -: "The early history of lo(mustang) and ngari" in Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 4, No. 1, December 1976, pp. 39-56

Jackson 2 -: "Notes on the History of Se-rib, and nearby Places in the Upper Kali Gandaki Valley" Kailash VI (1978), pp. 195-228

Kag Bemchag Yul gyi bems-(ćhags) gcug gis nor-bu. Manuscript 14 fols. Photographed 1987 in Kag

Kirkpatrick Colonel Kirkpatrick: An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul. New Delhi 1986

Lőrincz Láßlo Lörincz: Mongolische Märchentypen. Wiesbaden 1979. (= Asiatische Forschungen, Band 61)

Meisezahl R. O. Meisezahl "Die Handschriften in den City of Liverpool Museums (I)" in Zentralasiatische Studien 7 (1973), pp. 221-284

Marpha Bemchag Manuscript of the law-book of Marpha photographed in Marpha in two versions

Monthang Bemchag Handcopy from WD of the law-book of northern Mustang

NDP Deepak Aryal, Rabindra Regmi, Nirmal Rimal (Editors): Nepal District Profile. A Districtwise Socio-Techno-Economic Profile of Nepal. Kathmandu 1982

Pandey Ram Niwas Pandey "The Kallala Dynasty of the Jumla Valley" in Ancient Nepal, No. 12 (1970), S. 45-52

Pandey 1 -: "The History of the Kallala Dynasty" in Ancient Nepal, No. 15 (1971), pp. 39-61

Pant Dinesh Raj Pant: "Āśrita rājya upara bahādura śāhale lieko nīti" in Pūrṇimā 2,2 (V.S. 2022 Shravan), pp. 51-55

Peissel Michel Peissel: Mustang, A Lost Tibetan Kingdom. London 1968

Petech Luciano Petech: The Kingdom of

Ladakh, ca. 950-1842 A. D.. Roma 1977 (= Serie Orientale Roma LI)

Ramble-Vinding Charles A. E. Ramble and Michael Vinding "The Bem-chag Village Record and the Early History of Mustang District" in Kailash, Vol. XIII (1987), pp. 5-47

Ramble Charles Ramble: The Lamas of Lubra: Tibetan Bonpo Housholder Priests in Western Nepal. Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Oxford. Hertford College Michaelmas 1984.

Ramble 1 -: "The Founding of a Tibetan Village: The Popular Transformation of History" in Kailash, Vol. 10 (1983), pp. 267-290

Ramble 2 -: "A Ritual of Political Unity in an Old Nepalese Kingdom" in Ancient Nepal, Number 130-133, Kathmandu 1992-1993, pp. 49-58

Regmi Mahesh C. Regmi: Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal, Kathmandu 1978[2]

Regmi 1 -: "Mukhiyabhar Arrangments in Kagbeni and Other Villages" in Regmi Research Series, Vol. 13, Kathmandu 1981, pp. 55-57

Regmi 2 -: "Mustang Rajya, 1790". Regmi Research Series, Vol.2, No.4, Kathmandu 1970, p.99

Schuh Dieter Schuh: Märchen, Sagen und Schwänke vom Dach der Welt. Tibetisches Erzählgut in Deutscher Fassung. Band 1: Erzählgut aus Zentral- und Osttibet erzählt in der Sprache von Lhasa. Sankt Augustin 1982. (= Beiträge zur tibetischen Erzählforschung, Band 1)

Schuh 1 -: Urkunden, Erlasse und Sendschreiben aus dem Besitz sikkimesischer Adelshäuser und des Klosters Phodang. Sankt Augustin 1978. (Monumenta tibetica historica, Abteilung III, Bd. 3)

Schuh 2 -: "Ergebnisse und Aspekte tibetischer Urkundenforschung" in Proceedings of the Csoma de Körös Memorial Symposium held at Mátrafüred, Hungary 24-30 September 1976. Budapest 1978, pp. 411-425

Schuh 3 -: Das Archiv des Klosters bKra-śis-bsam-gtan-gliṅ 1. Teil. Sankt Augustin 1988. (Mo-numenta tibetica historica, Abteilung III, Bd. 6)

Schuh 4 -: "Eine kollektive tibetische Schuldurkunde" in Folia Rara, Wiesbaden 1976, pp. 93-110

Schuh 5 -: Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde. Sankt Augustin 1981. (Monumenta tibetica historica, Abteilung III, Bd. 5)

Schuh 6 -: "Recht und Gesetz in Tibet" in Tibetan and Buddhist Studies Commemorating the 200th Anniversary of the Birth of Alexander Csoma de Khörös. Edited by Louis Ligeti. Budapest 1984, pp. 291-311

Schuh 7 -: Politische Implikationen tibetischer Urkundenformeln. Sankt Augustin 1985 (= Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung, Heft 9)

Schuh 8 -: Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche. Sankt Augustin 1977 (= MTH III,1)

Schuler Sidney Ruth Schuler: Fraternal Polyandry and Single Women. A Study of Marriage,

Social Stratification and Property in Chumik, a Tibetan Society of the Nepalese Himalayas. A thesis presented by Sidney Ruth Schuler to The Depart-ment of Anthropology ... Harvard University Cambrigde (Mass.) 1983

Shrestha Ṭek Bahādur Śresṭa: " Parbatkā kehī tāmāpatra" in Contributions to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2 (1976), S. 70-82

Shrestha 1 -: Parvatarājyako Aitihāsika Rūparekhā. Kīrtipur V.S. 2042

Snellgrove David Snellgrove: Himalayan Pilgrimage. Boulder 1981

Snellgrove 1 -: Four Lamas of Dolpo. Tibetan Biographies edited and translated. Vol. I - II, Oxford 1967

Snellgrove 2 -: Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors. London 1987

Snellgrove 3 -: "Places of Pilgrimage in Thag (Thakkhola). Tibetan Manuscript Produced by Tshampa Ngawang of Drumpa. Editing and Translation by David Snellgrove" in Kailash VII (1979), pp. 73-170

SPD National Planning Commission, Secretariat, Central Bureau of Statistics, Kathmandu, Nepal: Statistical Pocket Book Nepal 1984. Kathmandu 1984

Stiller Ludwig F. Stiller: The Rise of the House of Gorkha. New Delhi 1973

Thompson Stith Thompson: Motif-Index of Folk-Literature, Copenhagen 1955-1958

Tucci Giuseppe Tucci: Journey to Mustang 1952. Kathmandu 1977

Tucci 1 -: Preliminary Report on two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal. Roma 1956 (= Serie Orientale Roma X)

Turner Dorothy Rivers Turner: A Comparative and Ethymologigal Dictionary of the Nepali Language. London 1931

Vinding Michael Vinding: The Local Oral Tradition about the Kingdom of Thin Garab Dzong. Kailash VI (1978), pp. 181-193

Vinding 1 -: "Making a Living in the Nepal *Himalayas: The Case of the Thakalis of Mustang* District" in Contributions to to Nepalese Studies, Vol. 12, No.1 (1984), pp. 51-105

Vansina Jan Vansina: Oral Tradition. A Study in Historical Methodology, London 1972 (reprint = 1961)

Von der Heide Susanne von der Heide: The Thakalis of North Western Nepal, Kathmandu 1988

WD Information of my assistant *dBaṅ-'dus blama* of Northern Mustang

The prehistoric settlement of Mustang

First results of the 1993 archaeological investigations in cave systems and connected ruined sites

by Angela Simons, Werner Schön and Sukra Sagar Shrestha

In the following pages we wish to present the first results of the excavations carried out by a joint team of Cologne University and HMG Department of Archaeology during the spring of 1993 in southern Mustang. In addition, we shall be reporting on the campaign of surveying in August 1993 in Upper Mustang[1].

As in the previous year, our team worked during the spring campaign in two regions of the southern Mustang District in Western Nepal (Fig. 1):
- in the Kaligandaki Valley in the Thakkhola at the find-spot of Chokhopani, opposite the village of Tukche on the eastern bank, with its funerary caves and settlement remains;
- in the upper Muktinath Valley on the rocky bar of the village Dzong (Jhong), opposite the village site of Dzar (Jharkot), at the find-spot of Mebrak with its cave-systems and a deserted village (Schön and Simons 1993; Simons et al. 1994).

1. Work in the caves of Chokhopani

The funerary caves of CHOKHOPANI in the Thakkhola were cut into by the shaft of a down-pipe from a small hydro-electric station (Tiwari 1985). In 1992 we carried out an initial rescue excavation in the eastern shaft, during which remains of three burial caves with numerous grave goods were salvaged: pottery, bronze and copper jewellery, beads of carnelian, bone and faience, bodkins made of schist (Simons et al. 1994, 52-53 with Fig. 2-11). As we had received an unexpectedly early calibrated ^{14}C-date of calBC 777 ± 19 from the 1992 excavation[2], it seemed essential for us to continue the work in order to gain further indications of the early settlement processes in the area under investigation and possibly to discover the beginnings of settlement in this area of high altitude.

Settlement-caves at the base of the south face

Therefore, the rocky massif was systematically examined for the weathered remains of further funerary caves. This resulted in the finding of numerous cave remains in the south face, which faces the Chokhopani River at its confluence with the Kaligandaki from the east (Plate 1a). Since the prevailing wind blows up the valley with gusts of upto 70 to 90 km/h (Haffner and Pohle 1993, 45f.), the south-facing rock-wall is particularly prone to erosion through wind and precipitation.

Some cave remains, whose artificial nature was not always evident, lay at the base of the rock-wall and were accessible via the scree. Almost all of the cave-rooms examined bear witness to human activity. In the case of two quarried caverns (locations 6 and 7), several settlement strata were cut in section, whereby accumulations of sediment upto a thickness of two meters were

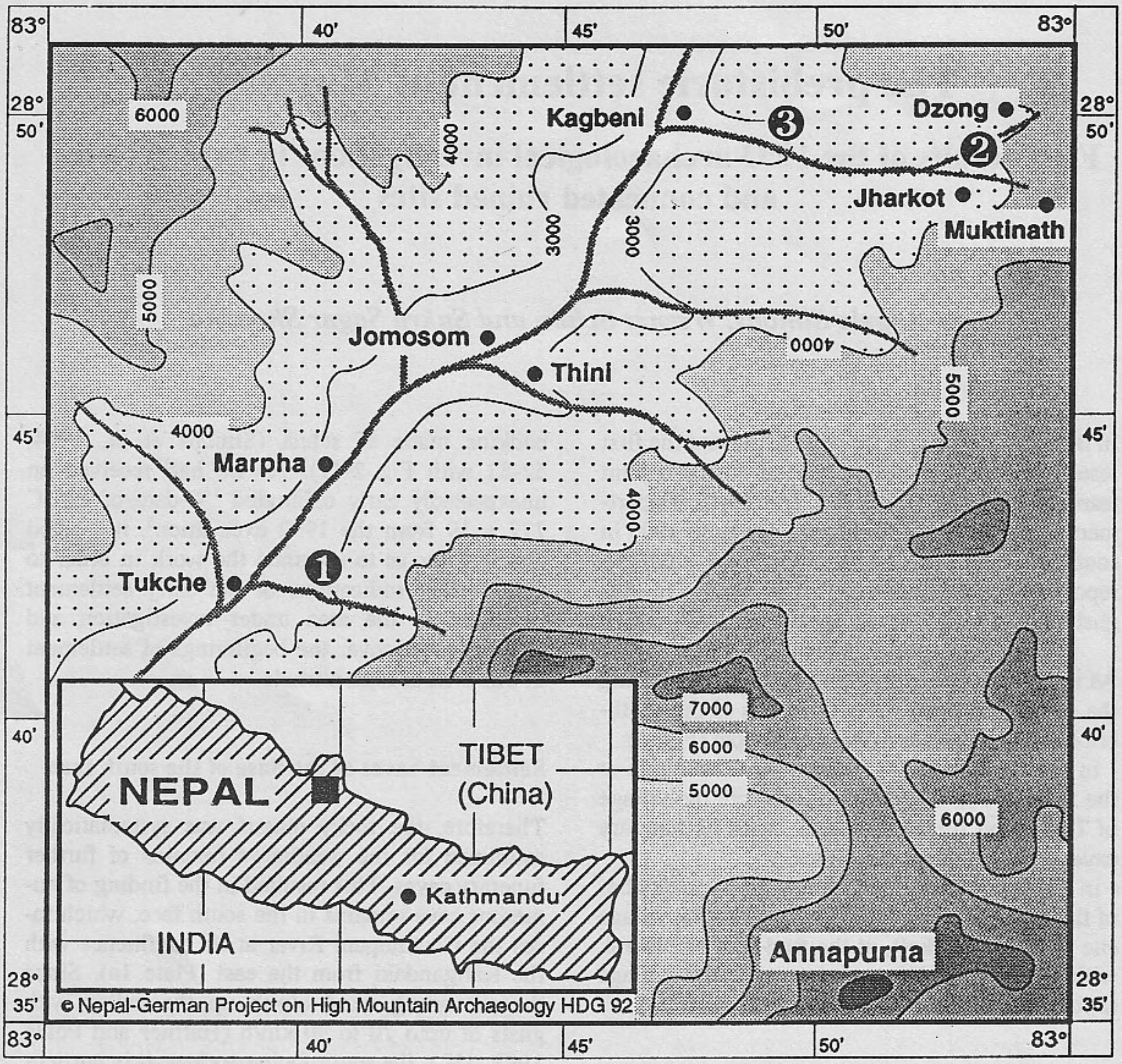


Fig. 1 Map of southern part of Mustang District. Archaeological sites:
1 Site of Chokhopani in the Thakkhola
2 Site of Mebrak in the upper Muktinath Valley
3 Site of Phudzeling in the lower Muktinath Valley

observed. Several occupation levels containing charcoal and bones and separated by sterile layers of debris were detectable. In location 6 the remains of a hearth appeared at the very bottom of the section beneath a 2 meter thick packet of sediment. A calibrated radiocarbon date of calBC 785 ± 26 places this hearth in the same chronological period as the funerary caves in the west face[3].

In location 7, too, several occupation layers could be uncovered in a 60 cm thick packet of strata by

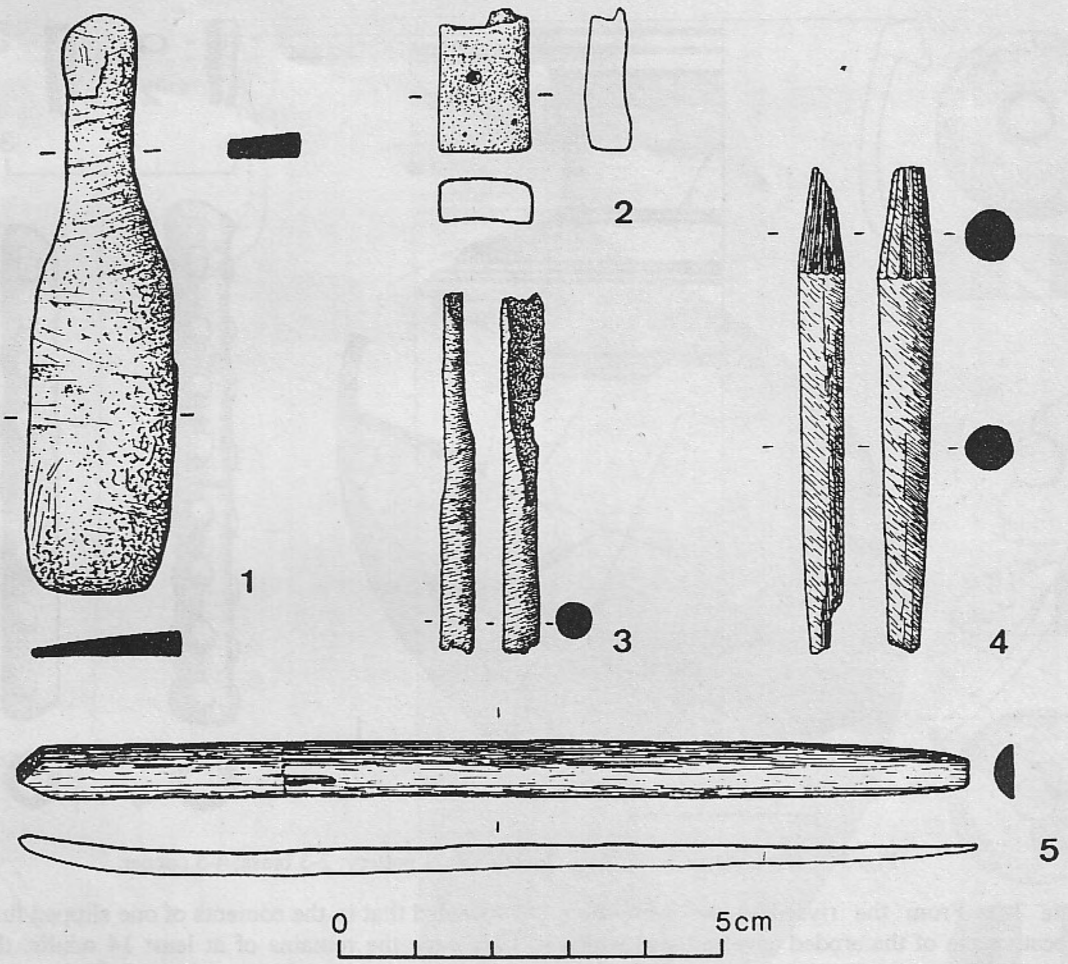


Fig. 2 Chokhopani South Face, location 7: 1 iron; 2 bone; 3-4 schist; 5 bamboo.

cutting back the section. Apart from pottery sherds, animal bones and cereal remains, finds from the hitherto undated main finds` layer in the middle of the section included an iron spatula (Fig. 2:1) and two fragmented slate awls (points) with rounded section (Fig. 2:3-4). The charcoal from the hearth directly on the cave-floor yielded a ^{14}C-date of calBC 670 ± 109, which also falls into the early prehistoric period of the funerary caves in the west face[4].

It is clear that the caverns at the base of the south face represent the remains of inhabited caves, albeit occupied, perhaps, periodically. The discovery of graves and traces of settlement from the same prehistoric period in Chokhopani is of fundamental importance for the understanding of the early settlement of Mustang; the early dates connect the lowest layers of these settlement caves (locations 6 and 7) in the south face with the burial caves in the west face of Chokhopani.

Remains of funerary caves in the south face

Most features in the south face were only accessible by descending by rope from the upper plateau and, therefore, had to be worked upon while hanging some 30 m above the river terrace

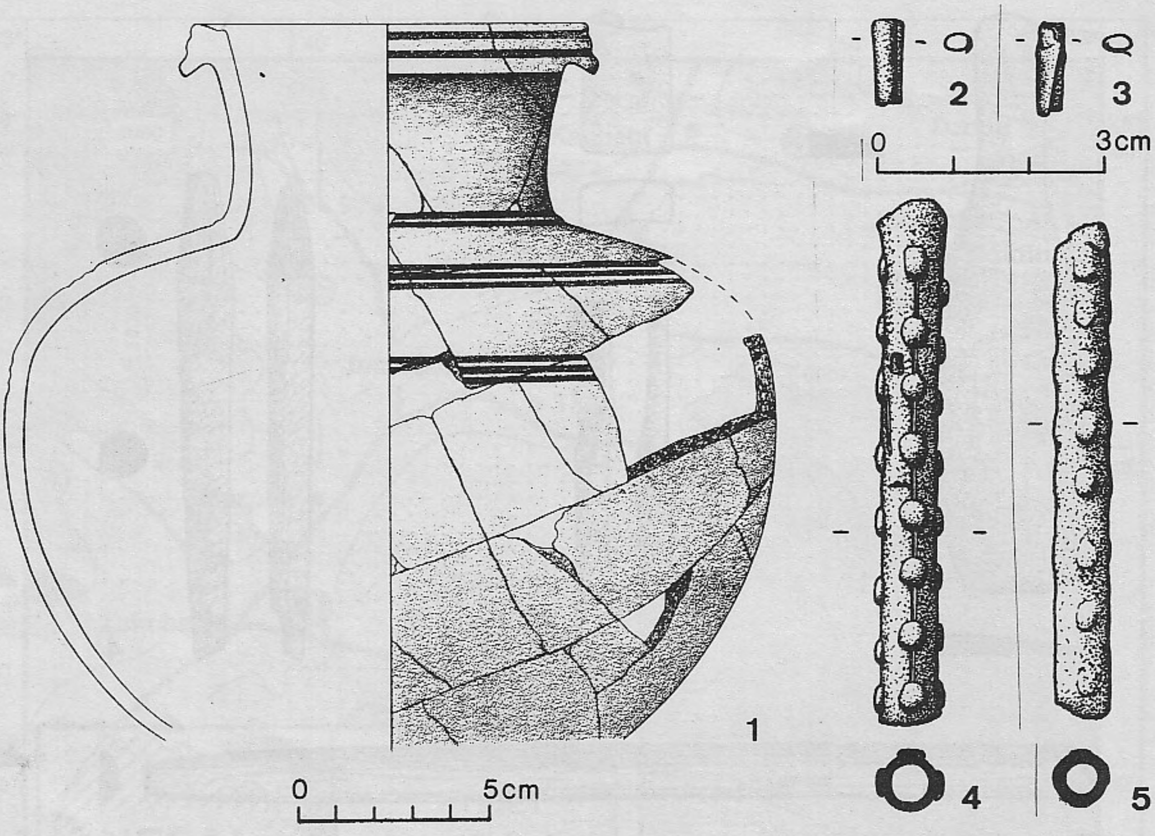


Fig. 3 Chokhopani South Face, location 9: 1 pottery; 2-3 brass; 4-5 copper.

(Plate 1a). From the river-bed we were able to locate some of the eroded cave remains which our spelaeologists had ascertained by mountaineering methods. Beneath the weathered funerary caves human and animal bones, as well as pottery, projected from the rock face (Plate 1b). The vessels were crushed, the bones pressed together and mostly dislocated. The burials from the eroded caves had slipped down en bloc and now lay some two meters below the still recognisable former funerary caves. The bones were well-preserved, but very much affected by roots, as bushes and trees had colonised the ground, attracted by the nutrition afforded by the disturbed burial contents. As with the burials from the west face, these, too, were clearly collective graves, since skeletal remains of several individuals lay tightly packed together. The preliminary investigations of the anthropologists have revealed that in the contents of one slipped funerary cave the remains of at least 14 adults, three youths and two children were found[5]. As opposed to the burials in the west face, in which, apart from a few adults, a high proportion of small children was laid to rest (Simons et al. 1994, 52), mainly adults were buried in the graves of the south face of Chokhopani.

As well as a little pottery, the deceased were buried with glass and metal jewellery (Fig. 3-5). The 1 cm long tubules (Fig. 3:2-3) were analysed as brass (75% copper, 5% zinc)[6]. As with the glass beads (Fig. 4:6-13; 5:1), they belong to a necklace or the braiding of a costume. The larger metal tubules with soldered burls (Fig. 3: 4-5) consist of copper and reveal traces of a gilt. The large, flat slate beads, which partly only survive as fragments (Fig. 4:2-5), could be spinning-whorls.

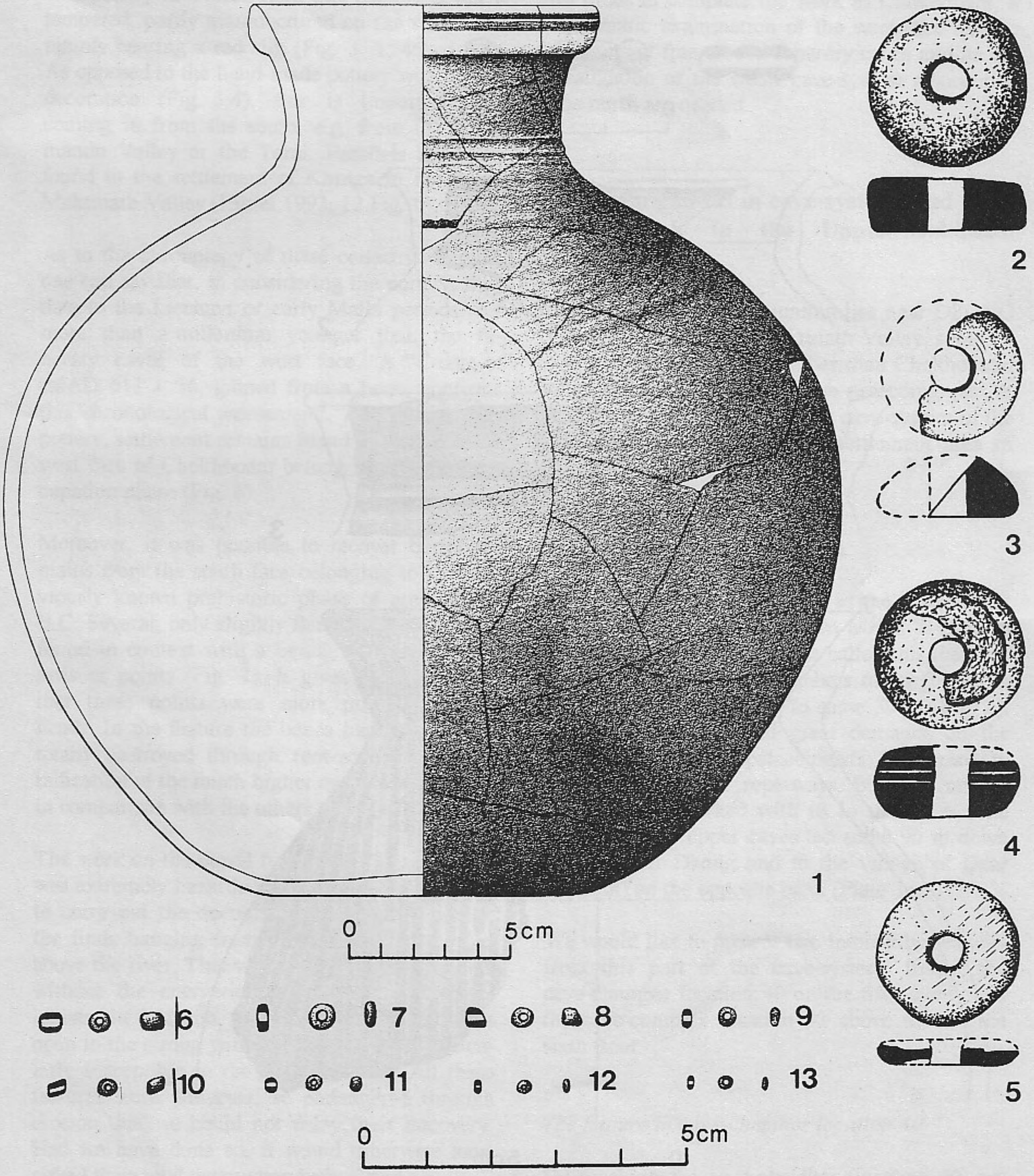


Fig. 4 **Chokhopani South Face, location 11: 1 pottery; 2-5 schist; 6-13 glass.**

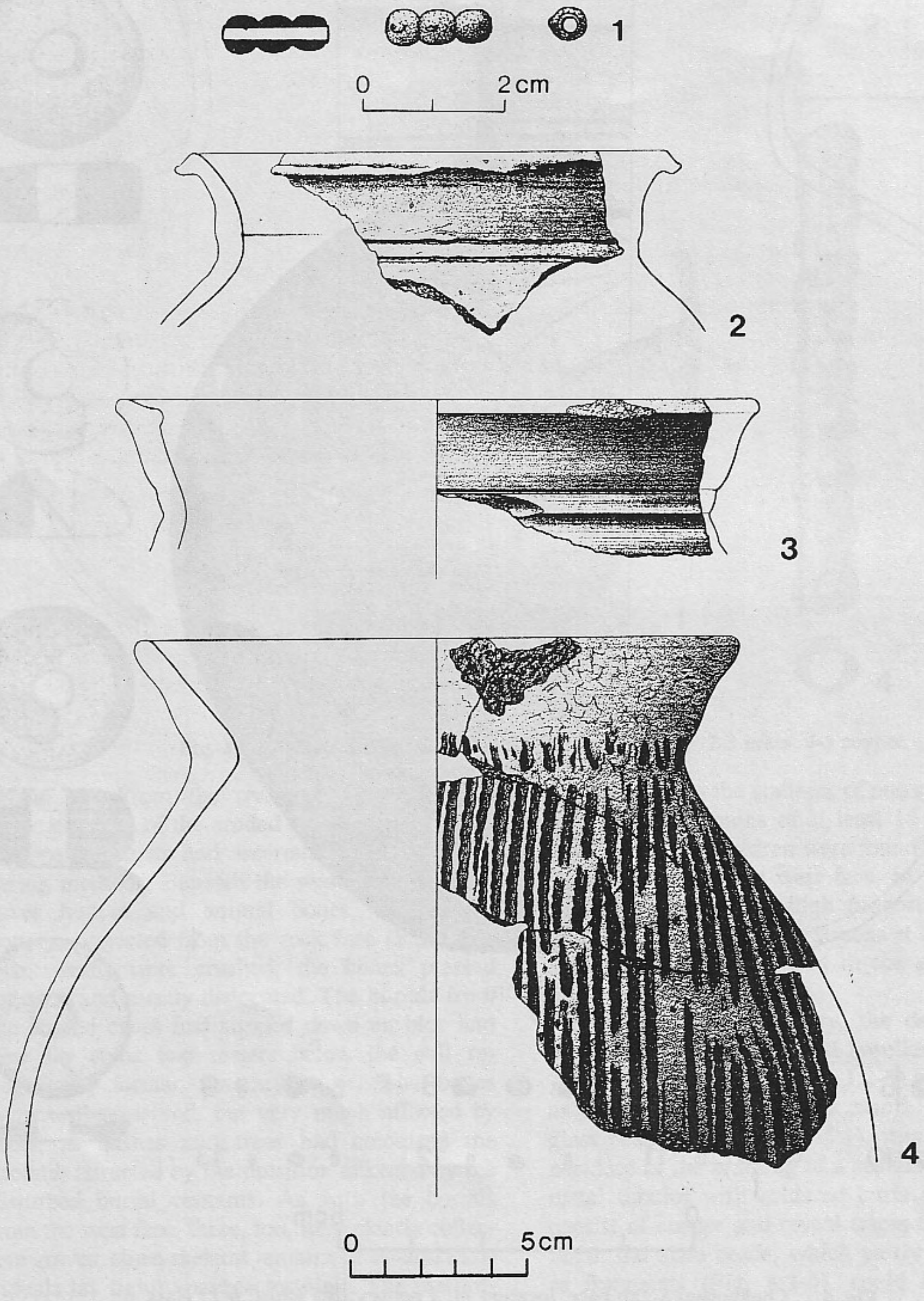


Fig. 5 Chokhopani South Face, (1-2 location 14; 3 location 12; 4 location 16): 1 glass; 2-4 pottery.

The pottery recovered from this context is mica-tempered, partly manufactured on the wheel and mainly bearing a red slip (Fig. 3: 1; 4:1; 5:2-3). As opposed to the hand-made pottery with corded decoration (Fig. 5:4), this is imported ware coming in from the south, e.g. from the Kathmandu Valley or the Terai. Parallels are to be found in the settlement of Khinga in the upper Muktinath Valley (Hüttel 1993, 12 Fig. 6).

As to the chronology of these collective burials, one can say that, in considering the pottery, they date to the Licchavi or early Malla periods, i.e. more than a millenium younger than the funerary caves of the west face. A ^{14}C-date of calAD 613 ± 36, gained from a bone, confirms this chronological assessment[7]. According to the pottery, settlement remains found on a spur in the west face of Chokhopani belong to the same occupation phase (Fig. 6).

Moreover, it was possible to recover burial remains from the south face belonging to the previously known prehistoric phase of around 800 B.C. Several, only slightly damaged vessels were found in context with a bundle of over 40 slate awls or points (Fig. 7). It gives the impression that these points were more probably arrowheads. In the feature the bones had almost been totally destroyed through root-action, a further indication of the much higher age of these burials in comparison with the others in the south face.

The work on the burial features in the south face was extremely hazardous and difficult, as we had to carry out the documentation and recovery of the finds hanging from ropes some 20 to 30 m above the river. This would have been impossible without the energetic support of the spelaeologists. In addition, the caves on this face are open to the strong wind, so that we were particularly susceptible to the cold and dust. All these features were, however, so endangered through erosion that we could not delay their uncovery. Had we have done so, it would otherwise have risked their total destruction beforehand.

In order to complete the work in Chokhopani, a systematic examination of the west face for the remains of free-eroded funerary caves and an investigation of the small cave-system adjacent to the north are needed.

2. Investigations in cave-systems and ruins of Mebrak in the Upper Muktinath Valley

The next area of investigation lies near DZONG (Jhong) in the Upper Muktinath Valley, some 20 km north of and 800 m higher than Chokhopani. We continued the work of the preceding year at the site of Mebrak, both in the cave-system in the rock face and in the ruined settlement area in front (Plate 2).

Work in the eastern B-System

For the first time we worked in the easternmost part of the cave-system known as the 'B-System' (Simons et al. 1994, 53). We called this the 'skyscraper', as the caves' chambers tower for seven storeys above on another to some 30 m (Fig. 8). The work there caused great demands on the know-how of the spelaeologists in regard to the construction of rope-ways, but also on the students who worked with us in the caves. The view from the upper caves led some 90 m down to the River Dzong and to the village of Dzar (Jharkot) on the opposite bank (Plate 3a).

We would like to present two interesting features from this part of the cave-system: firstly, the cave-chamber location 40 on the fifth storey and the cave-complex location 42 above that in the sixth floor.

The feature in cave-chamber location 40

On reaching the cave-chamber (location 40) we were confronted with the tableau in which the last use of the room, as well as the point at which

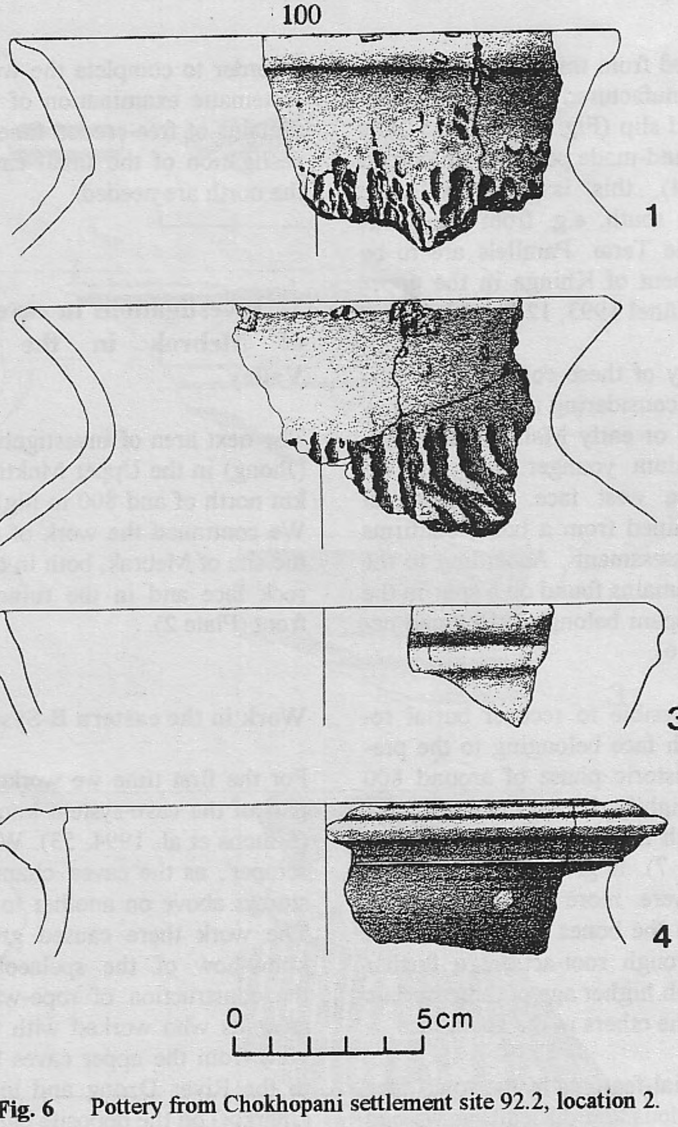


Fig. 6 Pottery from Chokhopani settlement site 92.2, location 2.

the cave-system had been abandoned, were preserved (Fig. 9; Plate 3b). The entrance was partly obstructed through collapsed daub-walls, whereby clay-bricks of different sizes and construction could provide evidence of separate building-phases. A large Chang vessel stood in front of a row of box-like clay-brick structures against the rear wall (Fig. 10). In the structures five bamboo baskets had been left behind, as well as a further pottery vessel (Fig. 12:3). Apart from numerous pot-sherds, the excavation of the chamber yielded further fragments of paper with Tibetan writing, artefacts of leather and wood and a sandstone slab, into which the mantra *"Om mani padme hum"* had been engraved.

A set of baskets of different sizes lay in one of the clay-brick structures against the northern wall (Fig. 11), a further one in a structure against the eastern wall. Beneath a collapse of brick were discovered in a further clay-brick structure against the north wall two pottery vessels (Fig. 12:2), one of which had been crushed, and the remains of a panier with a leather strap (Fig. 12:1). In the crushed red vessel was found crump-

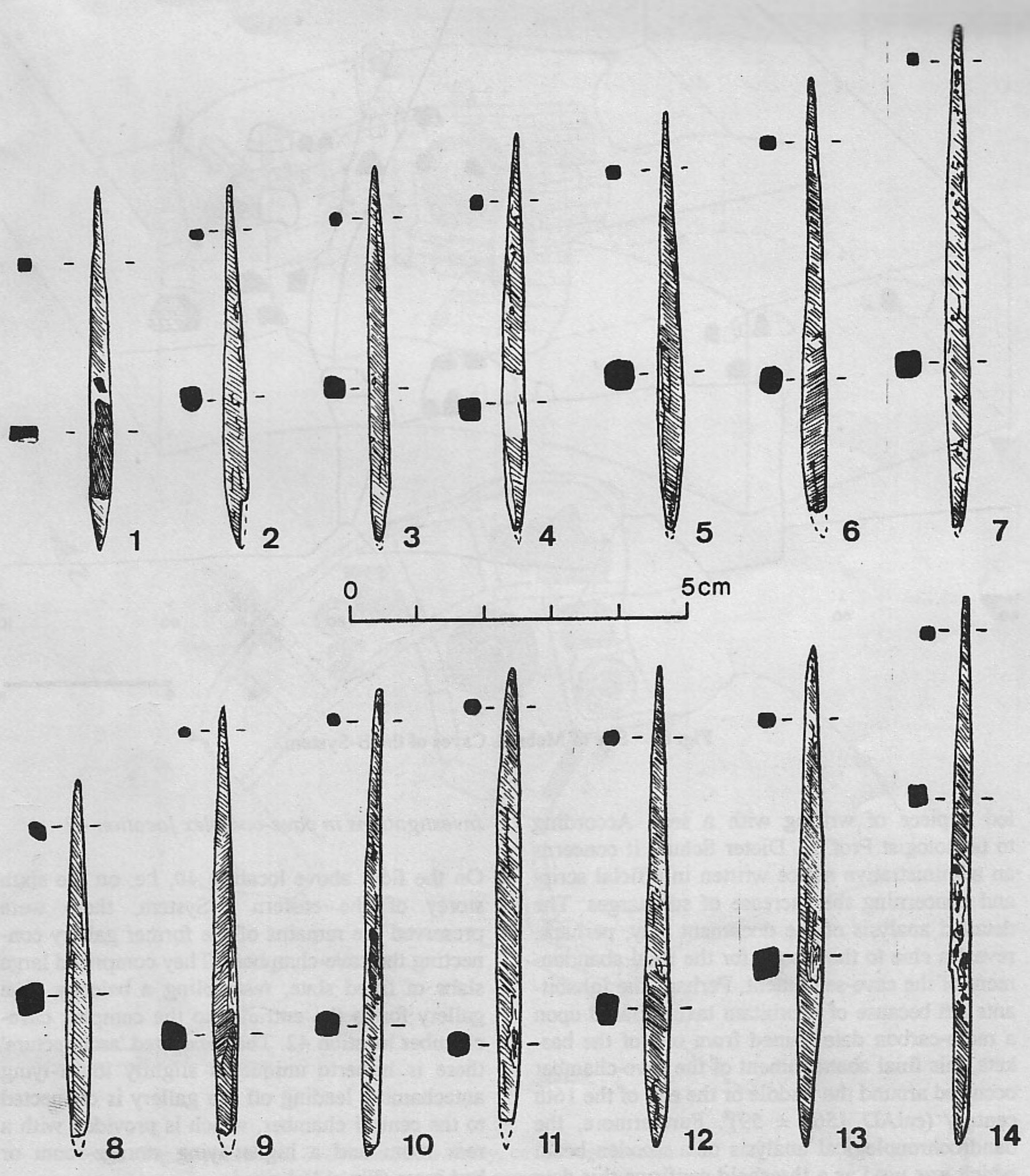


Fig. 7 Schist bodkins (points) from Chokhopani South Face, location 21.

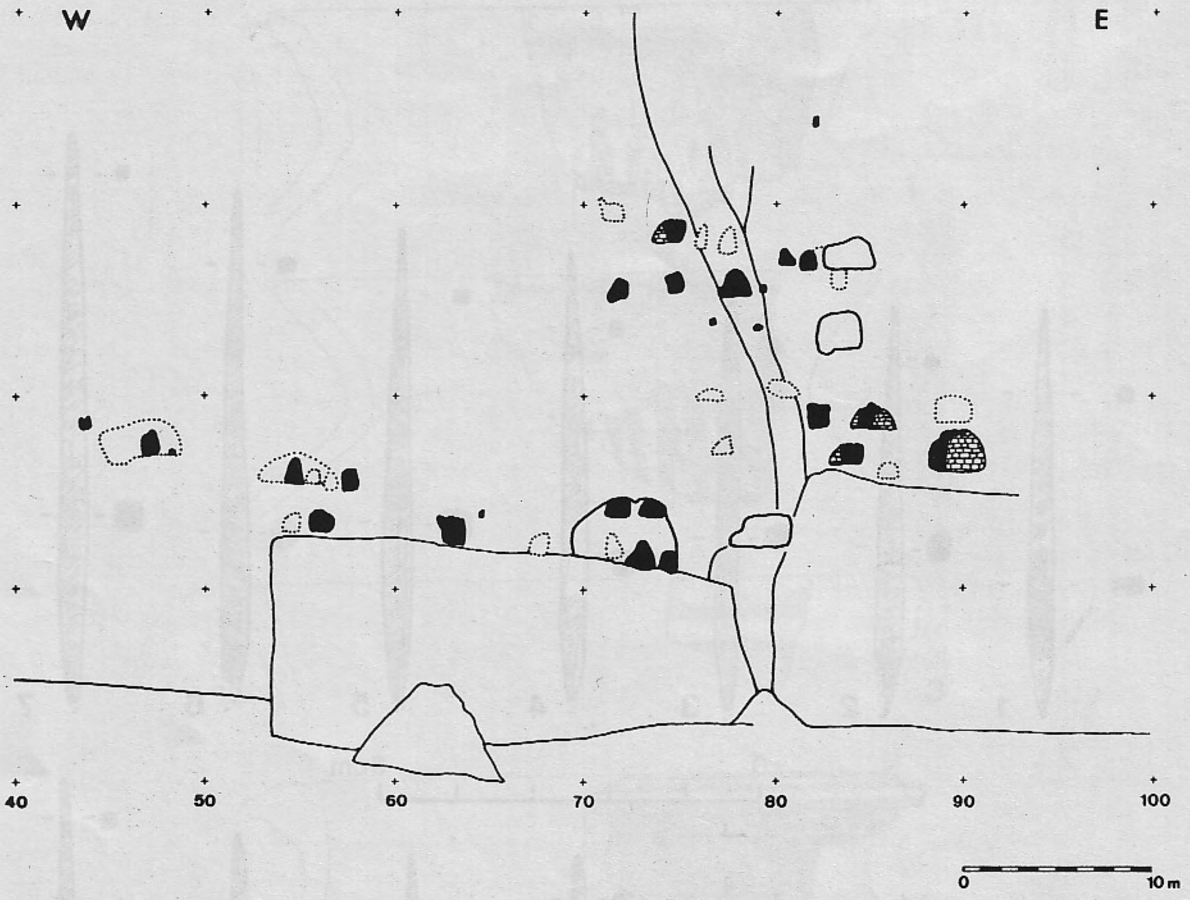


Fig. 8 Site of Mebrak. Caves of the B-System.

led a piece of writing with a seal. According to tibetologist Prof.Dr. Dieter Schuh, it concerns an administrative notice written in official script and concerning the increase of surcharges. The detailed analysis of the document may, perhaps, reveal a clue to the reason for the final abandonment of the cave-settlement. Perhaps the inhabitants left because of exorbitant taxes? Based upon a radio-carbon date gained from one of the baskets, this final abandonment of the cave-chamber occurred around the middle or the end of the 16th century (calAD 1567 ± 59)[8]. Furthermore, the dendrochronological analysis of a wooden beam which was used as a threshold confirms this date (1540)[9].

Investigations in cave-complex location 42

On the floor above location 40, i.e. on the sixth storey of the eastern B-System, there were preserved the remains of the former gallery connecting the cave-chambers. They comprised large slabs of fitted slate, resembling a balcony. The gallery forms the entrance to the complex cave-chamber location 42. The excavated 'architecture' there is hitherto unique; a slightly lower-lying antechamber leading off the gallery is connected to the central chamber, which is provided with a rear room and a higher-lying storage-room or bed room (Fig. 13).

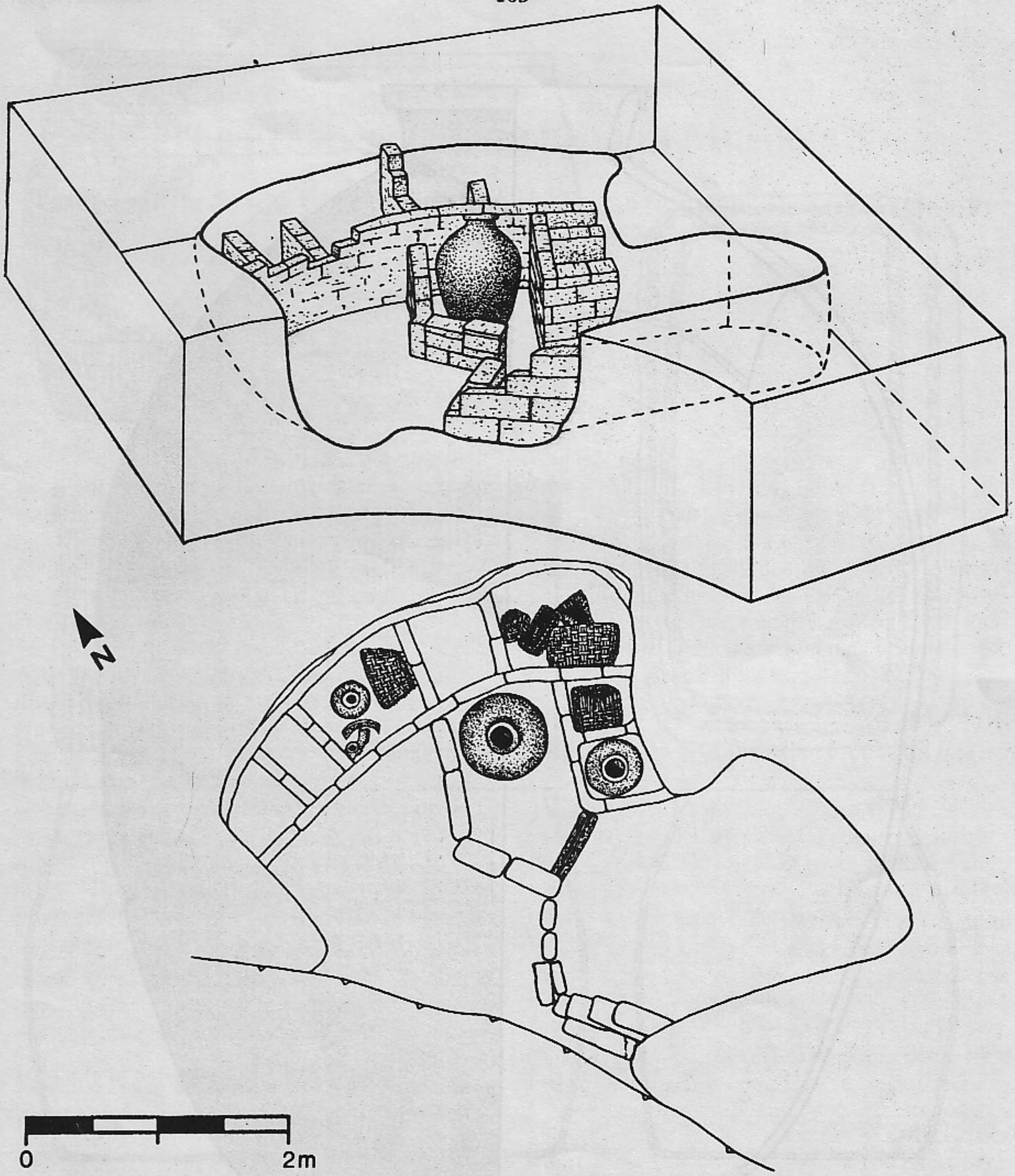


Fig. 9 Mebrak. B-System, fifth storey, cave-room location 40.
above: Isometric view of cave-room.
below: Ground-plan with pottery and baskets left in mudbrick-structures.

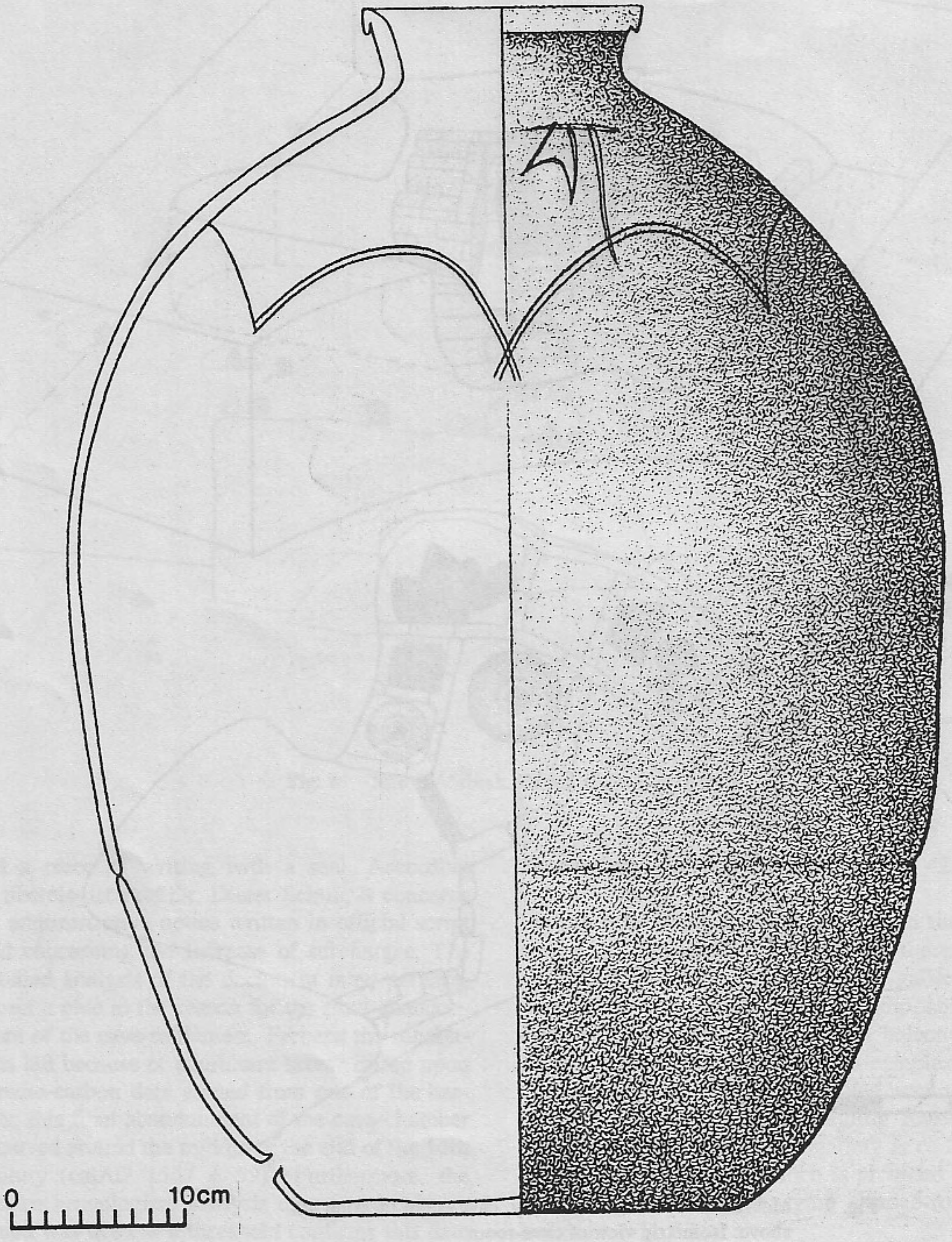


Fig. 10 Pottery from Mebrak, location 40: decorated chang-vessel.

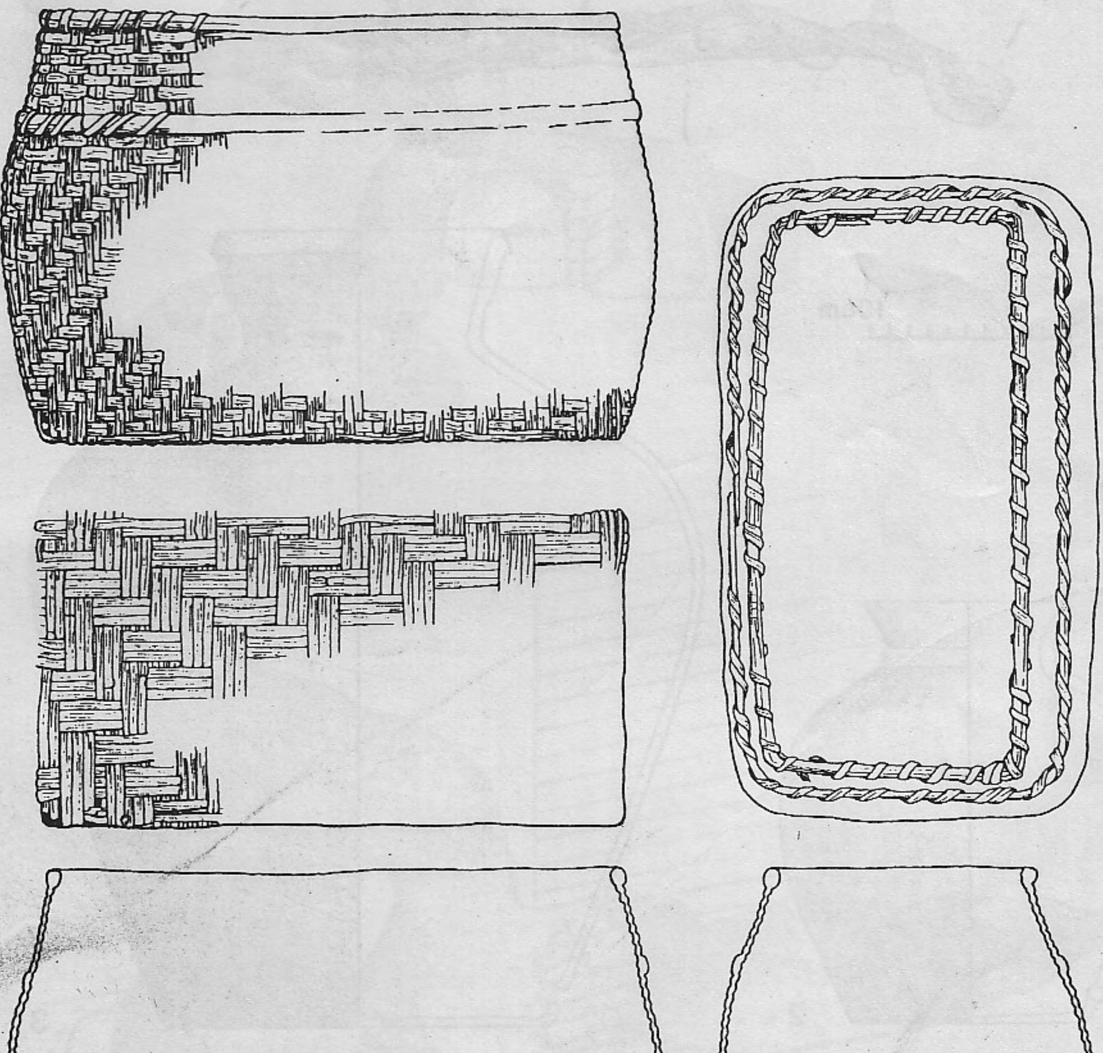


Fig. 11 **Mebrak, location 40: small bamboo basket.**

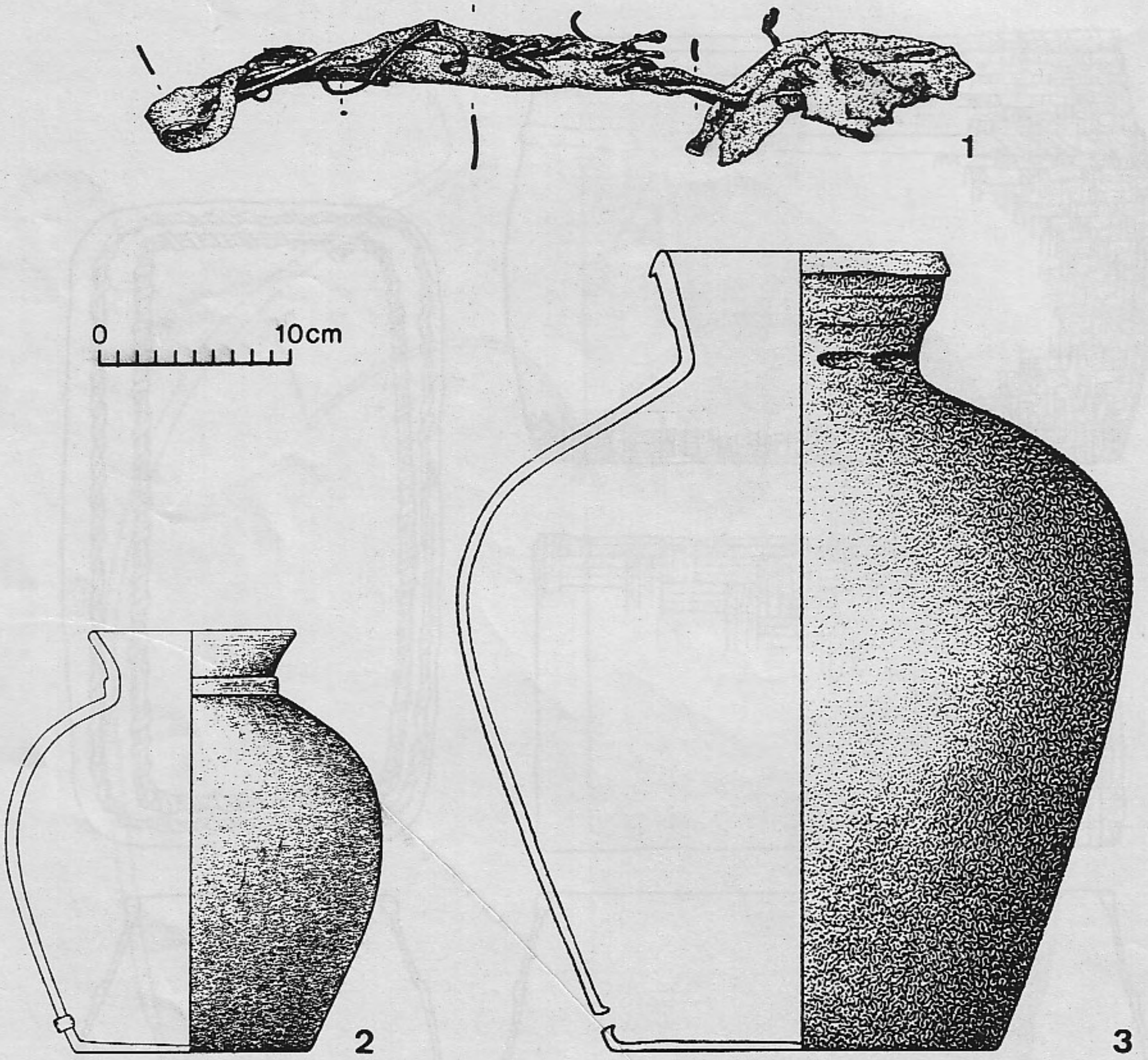


Fig. 12 Mebrak, location 40: 1 leather strap; 2-3 pottery.

One quite surprising result of the work there was the uncovering of a stratification with several occupation layers in the western part of the central chamber (Fig. 14). Immediately upon the rock-bed lay a floor, upon which had accumulated a layer with charcoal and occupational debris (first occupational phase). Over that lay a further floor (second occupational phase). Following this second phase, the cave-chamber was abandoned for the first time, as ascertained by a layer of bird-droppings which had accumulated on the second floor[10]. Above the bird-droppings a new floor had been laid. Charcoal and pot-sherds attest to a reoccupation of the cave-chamber (third occupational phase). Above that was found a layer with pieces of floor from the upper chamber and further bird-droppings, denoting the final abandonment of the cave's occupation.

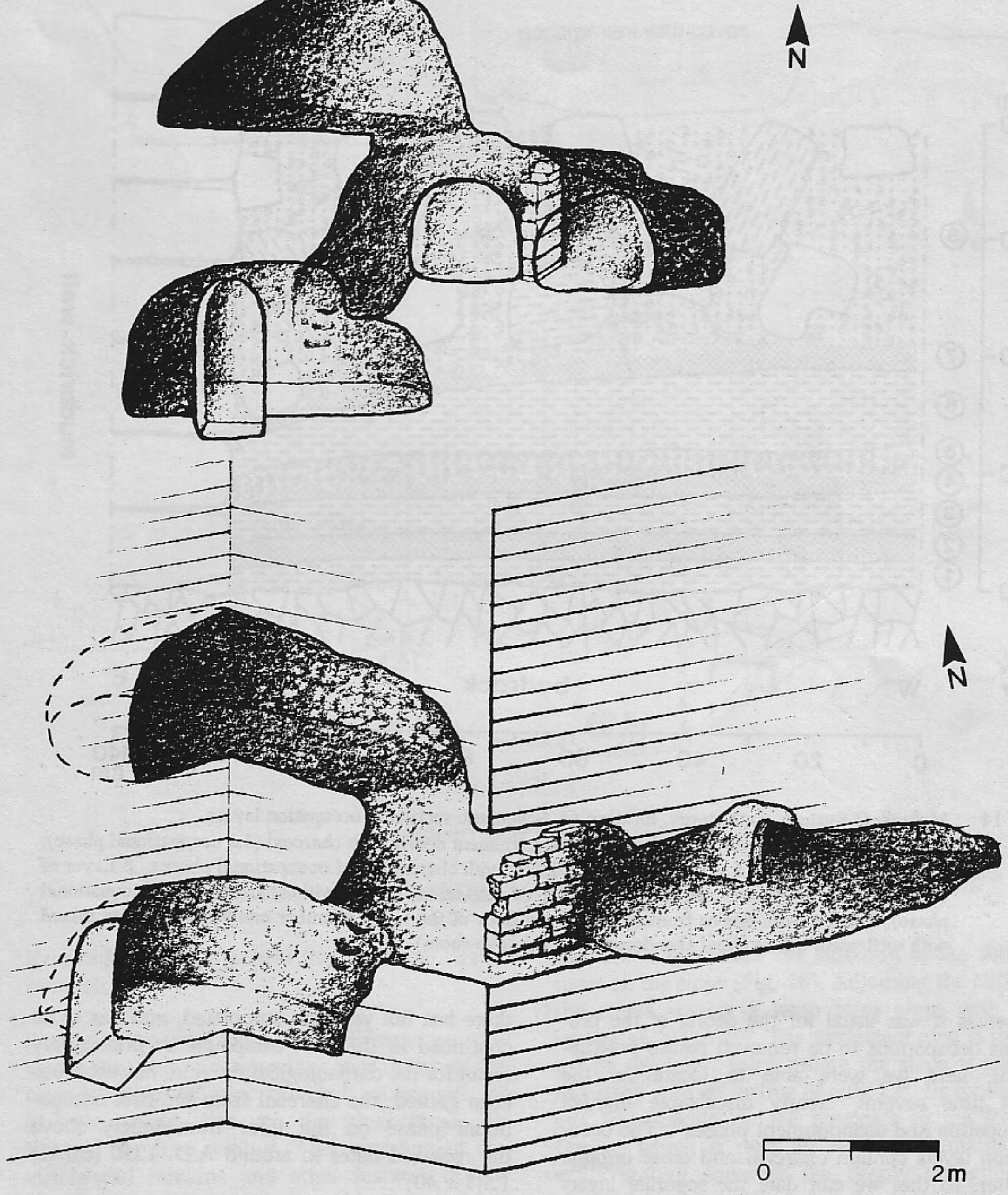


Fig. 13 Mebrak. B-System, sixth storey, cave-complex location 42.
above: Section parallel to rock-face (view from rock-face from south) with access openings.
below: Section and isometric view from south-east, to show the structure of the cave (with room at the rear). Tilt: 15 degrees.

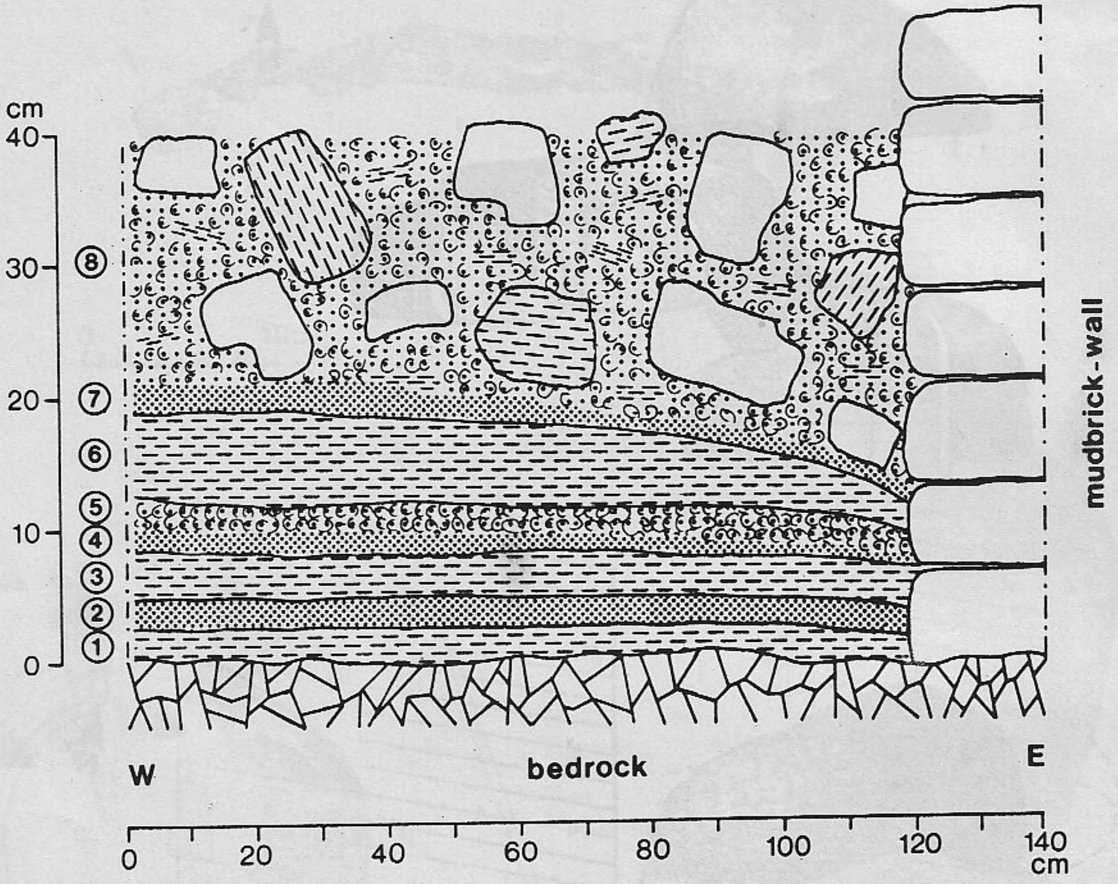


Fig. 14 Mebrak. B-System, sixth storey, location 42. Schematic section of occupation layers.
1 First mud-floor on the rock-bed; **2** Layer of settlement debris with charcoal (1st occupational phase); **3** Second mud-floor; **4** Layer of settlement debris with charcoal (2nd occupational phase); **5** Layer of bird-droppings; **6** Third mud-floor; **7** Layer of settlement debris with charcoal (3rd occupational phase); **8** Layer with pieces from the collapsed floor of the upper chamber and bird-droppings mixed with settlement debris (final abandonment of the cave-room).

Whereas it was usual for the debris of the previous occupations to be removed before resettlement, here we were able to locate for the first time several, clearly discernible distinct occupation and abandonment phases[11]. The occupation levels contain charcoal and other organic matter, so that we can date the separate layers and hope, thereby, to unravel the chronology of the final utilisation of the cave-system. Apart from that, many pot-sherds, wooden objects and bits of written paper have been found. The work there has not yet been completed, and has to be continued in the next campaign. A preliminary result for the chronological fixation, however, has been gained; the charcoal from the first occupational phase on the floor immediately above the rock-bed dates to around A.D. 1250 (calAD 1248 ± 40)[12].

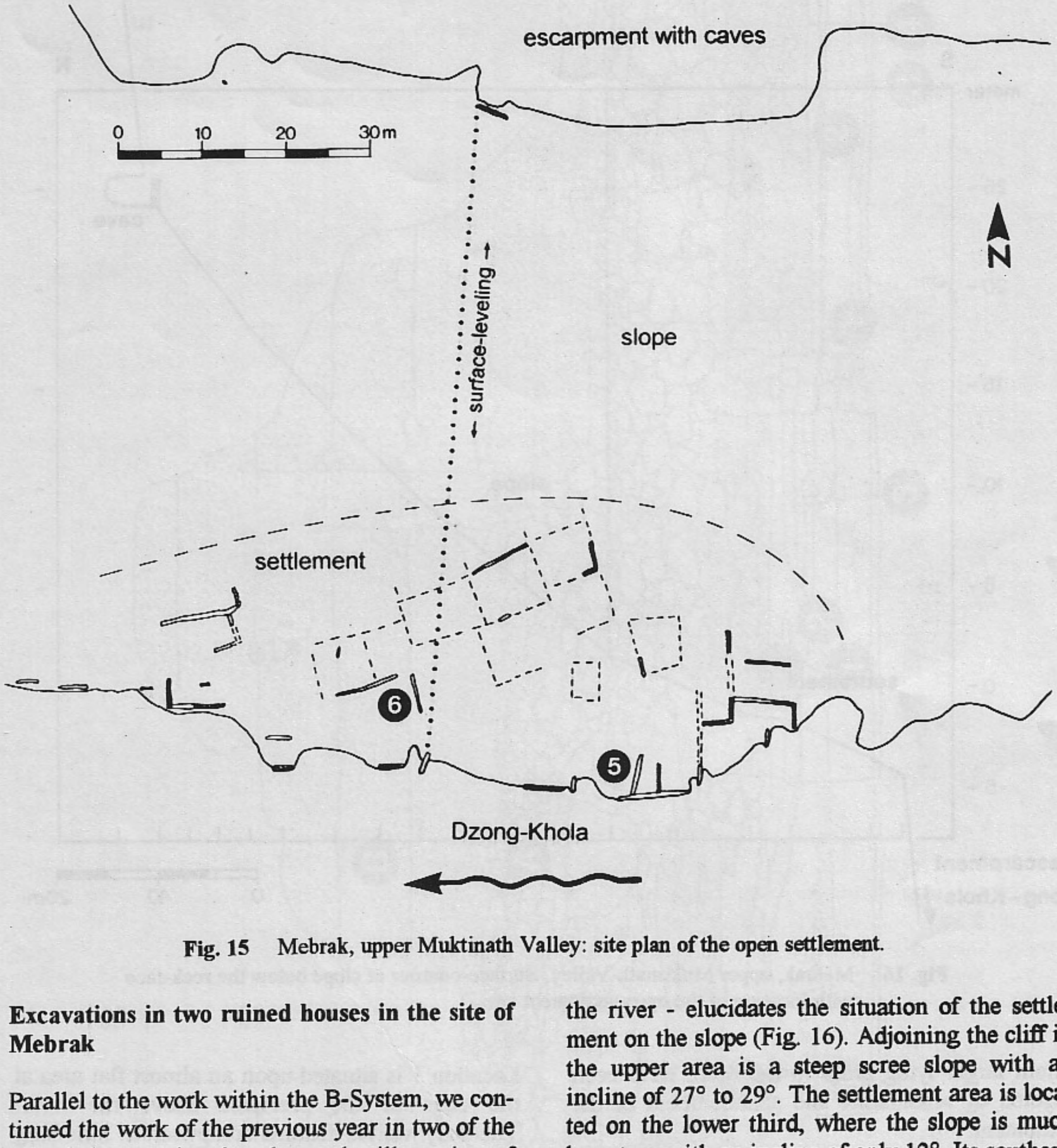


Fig. 15 Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley: site plan of the open settlement.

Excavations in two ruined houses in the site of Mebrak

Parallel to the work within the B-System, we continued the work of the previous year in two of the ruined houses in the deserted village-site of Mebrak, which lies on the river-terrace in front of the cave-systems. The recording of the visible wall remains and other features of the site signifying former buildings reveals a longish oval settlement area (Fig. 15). The levelling of the surface of the present-day terrain - from the foot of the cave-system to the lower precipice by the river - elucidates the situation of the settlement on the slope (Fig. 16). Adjoining the cliff in the upper area is a steep scree slope with an incline of 27° to 29°. The settlement area is located on the lower third, where the slope is much less steep with an incline of only 12°. Its southern end lies directly on the precipice to the River Dzong, which is over 30 m high. Remains of walls sealing some of the deeply cut gulleys caused by erosion prove that the settlement area of the final occupation phase roughly corresponds on the south to the modern-day area. Without extensive excavation it is not possible to say to what

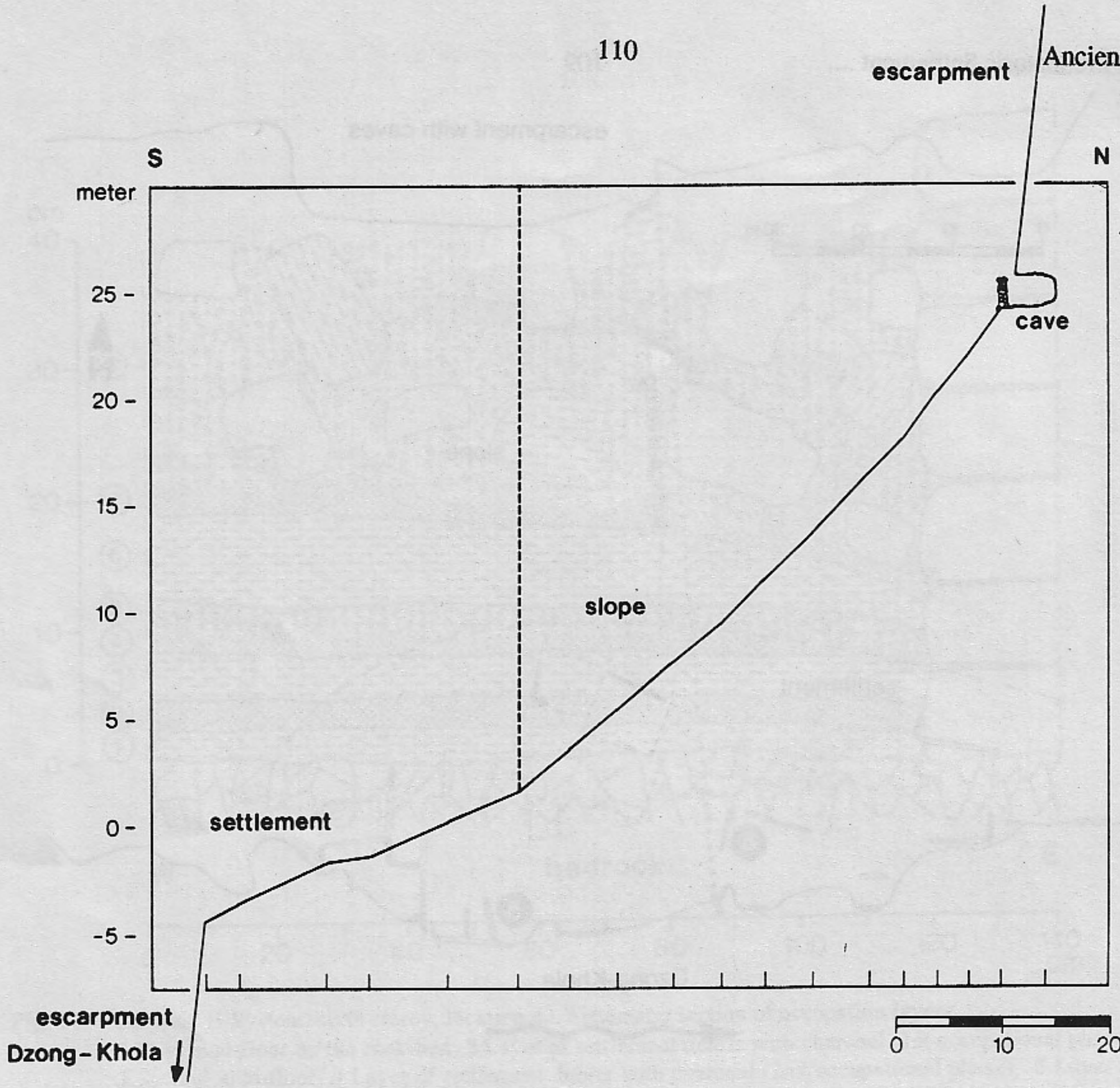


Fig. 16 Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley. Surface-contour of slope below the rock-face with location of the open settlement site.

extent larger lying areas to the north have been covered by scree since the abandonment of the settlement.

For our investigations two ruin sites (locations 5 and 6) were selected, at which daub walls were still standing to a height of some 2.5 m (Fig. 15). Following the first trial trenches in 1992, the areas of excavation were sunk to the natural, some 1.5 m to 1.7 m beneath the modern surface.

Location 5 is situated upon an almost flat area at the edge of the precipice above the river. The only visible feature comprises a 5 m long wall running north-south. It is joined by a westerly running wall coming in at an acute angle. This southern wall only survives to a length of about 1 m; the rest of the daub wall has broken away and fallen into the river. The eastern branch of this southern wall survives for a length of over 7 to 8 m, albeit only a few centimetres high, and forms the edge of the precipice.

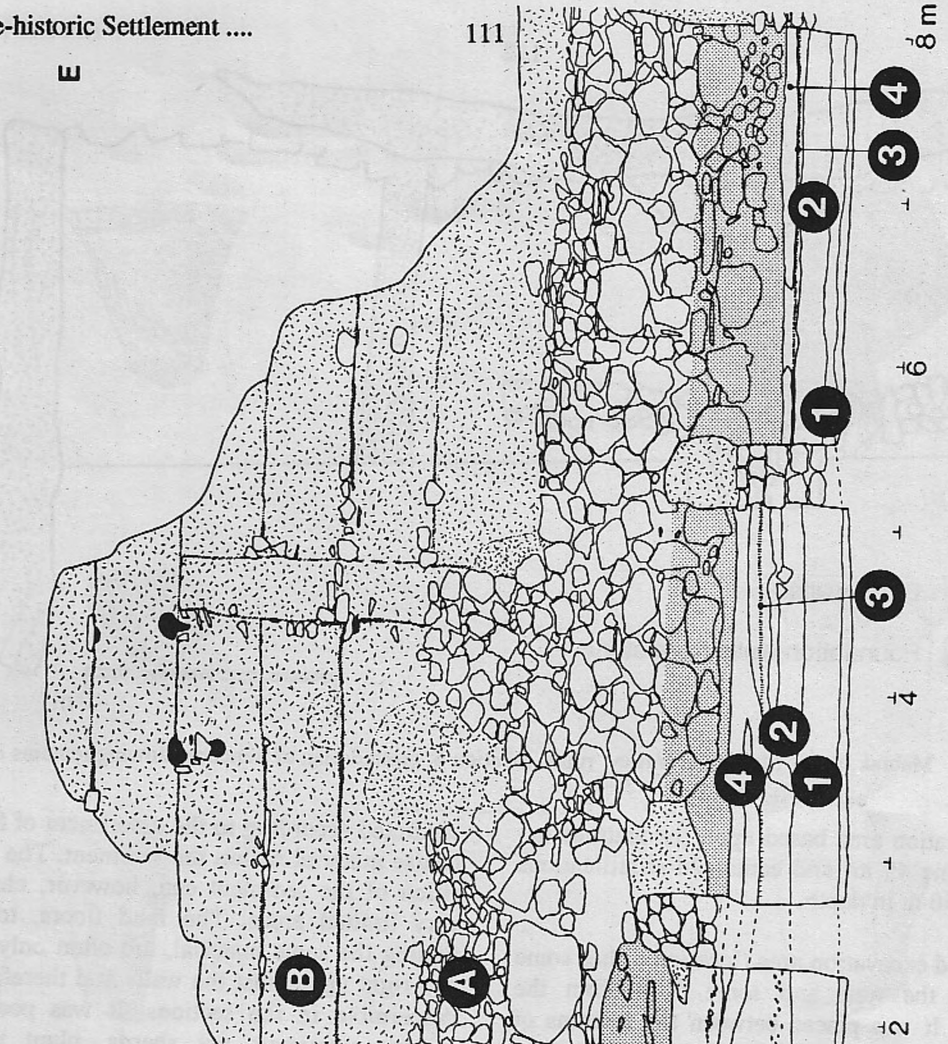


Fig. 17 Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley, ruins, location 6: northern section of trench with standing wall from the last occupation.
1 Lowest layer (probably layer of levelling); **2** Occupation layer including several mud-floors; **3** Mud-floor (in good preservation); **4** Colluvial deposits; **5** Layer with collapsed occupation debris; **A** Massive foundation wall from stone; **B** Daub wall.

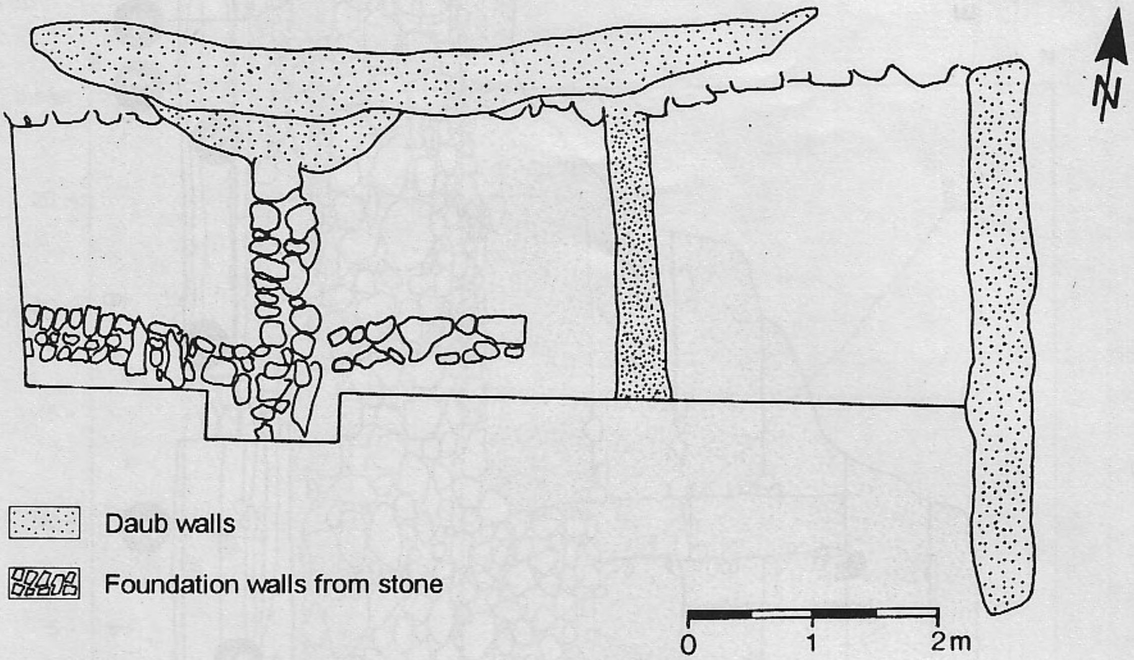


Fig. 18 Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley, ruins, location 6: ground-plan of trenches showing remains of walls.

The excavation area based upon the features extended some 45 m^2 and contained stratifications of upto 1.50 m in depth.

The second excavation area (location 6) lies some 30 m to the west and some 5 m from the precipice. It was placed between the remains of two walls demonstrably belonging to one another and which lie almost at right-angles to one another. At this point, the precipice is more disjointed through erosion gulleys, so that the extent of the excavation area to the south is restricted. An area of 18 m^2 was opened up. The natural was reached at a depth of 1.70 m.

As the stratifications of both locations correspond well with one another, the stratigraphy of the north section of location 6 will be given here as representative (Fig. 17). Trying to follow the layers - found in section - in plan, proved to be difficult, as the base material of all sediments is a conglomerate of rocks in a silty-clayey matrix. Only very slight nuances in colour are discernible, so that the layers can usually only be separated according to the assortment of fine and coarse material within the sediment. The composition of the sediment can, however, change in very limited areas. The mud floors, too, comprising the same material, are often only preserved right up against the walls and therefore only descernible in the sections. It was possible to recover numerous pot sherds, plant remains, animal bones and charcoal from all occupation layers. Owing to the present state of work, selected finds will be shown whose positions may be taken from the section shown (Fig. 17).

The lowest layer above the natural is probably a layer of levelling (Fig. 17, layer 1), as it contains many stones of upto some 12 to 15 cm in diameter, but only a little finer material. From the upper part of this layer comes a specimen of charcoal which was dated to calAD 958 ± 50[13]. The pottery is severely broken; typologically definable pieces are hardly present (Fig. 19:3-4, 8-9). The large majority of all sherds is thin-walled and of a light-grey colour on the surfaces and in the matrix; red pieces are seldom. Despite

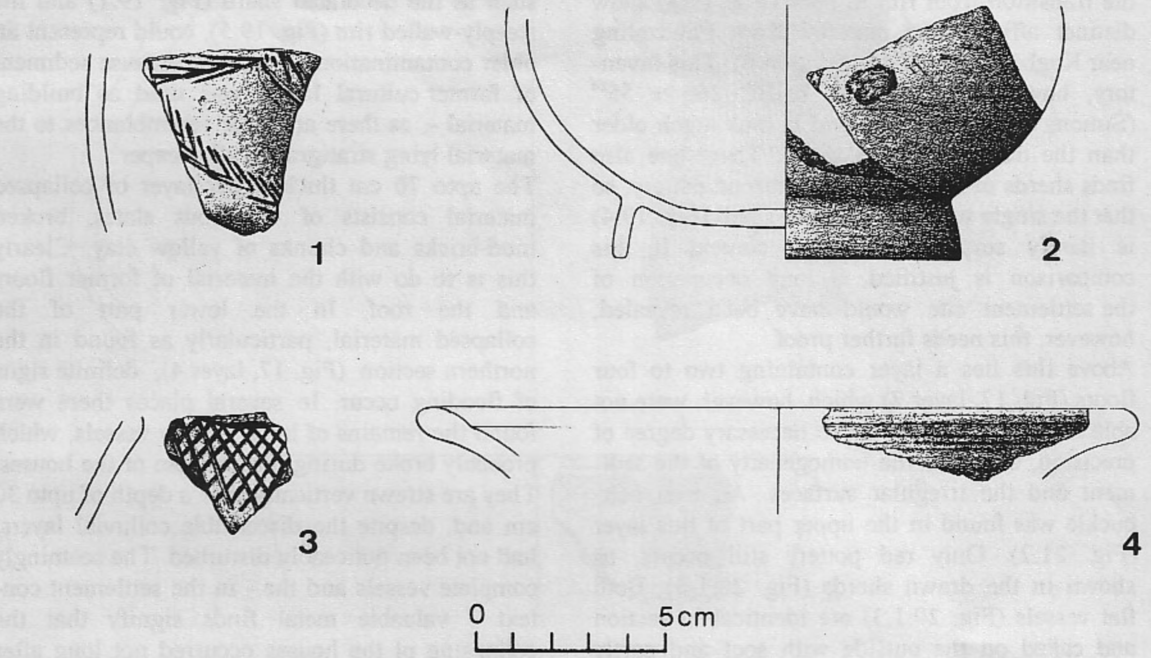


Fig. 19 **Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley, ruins, location 6: Pottery from upper and lower layers (1, 5-7 layer 4 or 5; 2 immediately above layer 3; 3-4, 8,9 layer 1) (viz. Fig. 17).**

the bad conditions of survival, both the scratched-ornamented sherd (Fig. 19:3) and the piece with the transition from rim to neck (Fig. 19:8) show distinct affinities to material from Phudzeling near Kagbeni (site 92.16, location 6). This inventory, however, is dated to calBC 266 ± 55[14] (Simons et al. 1994, 54) and is thus much older than the date mentioned above. There one also finds sherds of imported wheel-turned pottery, so that the single wheel-turned rim-sherd (Fig. 19:4) is hardly surprising in this context. If this comparison is justified, a long occupation of the settlement site would have been revealed; however, this needs further proof.

Above this lies a layer containing two to four floors (Fig. 17, layer 2) which, however, were not able to be identified with the necessary degree of precision, owing to the homogeneity of the sediment and the irregular surfaces. An iron belt-buckle was found in the upper part of this layer (Fig. 21:2). Only red pottery still occurs, as shown in the drawn sherds (Fig. 20:1-3). Both flat vessels (Fig. 20:1,3) are identical in section and caked on the outside with soot and partly with food remains. Clearly they were used as cooking-pots. A dating of the layer has not yet been made, so that one cannot make any comment on its chronological importance at present. Also, this level seems only to be present in both of the eastern areas, since the corresponding sediment in the western part contains much coarse debris and no finds.

The layer just described is overlain in both eastern areas by the only continuously present clay-floor (Fig. 17, layer 3). Charcoal from a hearth on the surface could be dated to calAD 1514 ± 70[15]. A part of the small, dark-grey footed vessel (Fig. 19:2) comes directly out of the hearth. A brass bell lay near it on the floor (Fig. 21:1). Similar pieces today are still fastened to horse-tackle as signals.

As the finds' analysis has revealed, the finds from the colluvial deposit (Fig. 17, layer 4) built up on the floor and those from the younger layer containing collapsed material from the roof (Fig. 17, layer 5) belong together. The few metal finds derive from the collapsed material immediately above the floor (Fig. 21:3-6). This is also the case for the majority of the mainly red-fired potsherds (Fig. 19:1,5-7). A few light-grey pieces, such as the decorated sherd (Fig. 19:1) and the steeply-walled rim (Fig. 19:5), could represent an older contamination - probably because sediment of former cultural layers was used as building material -, as there are clear resemblances to the material lying stratigraphically deeper.

The upto 70 cm thick upper layer of collapsed material consists of numerous slates, broken mud-bricks and chunks of yellow clay. Clearly this is to do with the material of former floors and the roof. In the lower part of the collapsed material, particularly as found in the northern section (Fig. 17, layer 4), definite signs of flooding occur. In several places there were found the remains of large pottery vessels, which probably broke during the collapse of the houses. They are strewn vertically over a depth of upto 30 cm and, despite the discernible colluvial layers, had not been noticeably disturbed. The seemingly complete vessels and the - in the settlement context - valuable metal finds signify that the collapsing of the houses occurred not long after the abandonment of the settlement, or even that the inhabitants had been caught by surprise. Since two buildings lying some 30 m apart had been affected, one may presume that it must have been a larger local event involving extreme amounts of precipitation.

As slightly later dates are available for some caves with similar vessels, it will be important for future work to obtain further pointers to the connection between the caves and the open settlement.

Above the collapsed material, upto the modern-day surface, extremely localised natural phenomena in the form of silt lenses could be observed. Also a hearth and possibly traces of a floor were able to be uncovered. The situation immediately below the surface is, however, indefinite and the amount of finds too small to be included in the interpretation. However, the traces of the last occupation of the area should be present here, during which the north daub wall (Fig. 17, wall B), which survives to a height of upto 2.50 m, was erected on a stone foundation (Fig. 17, wall A).

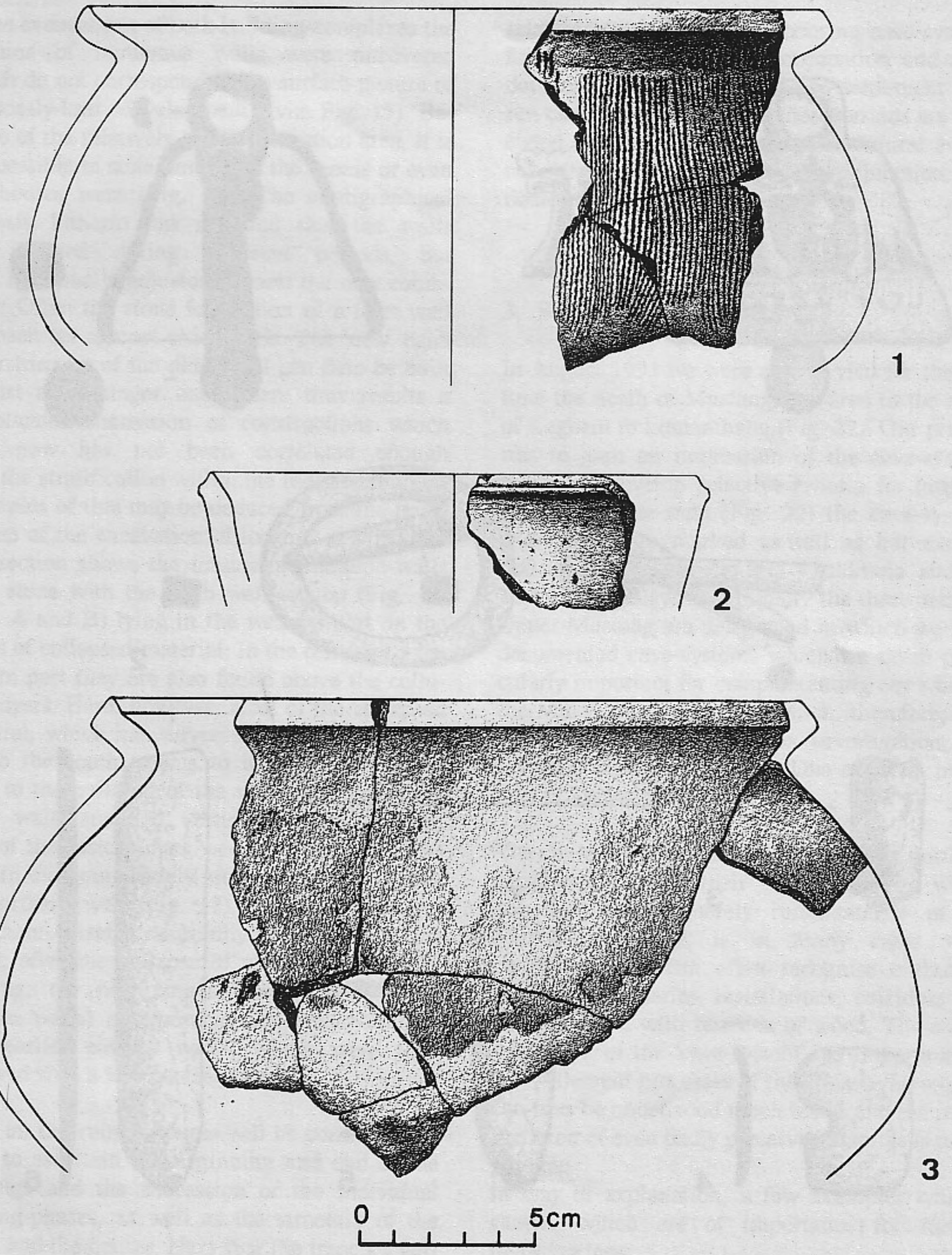


Fig. 20 Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley, ruins, location 6: Pottery from layer 2 (viz. Fig. 17).

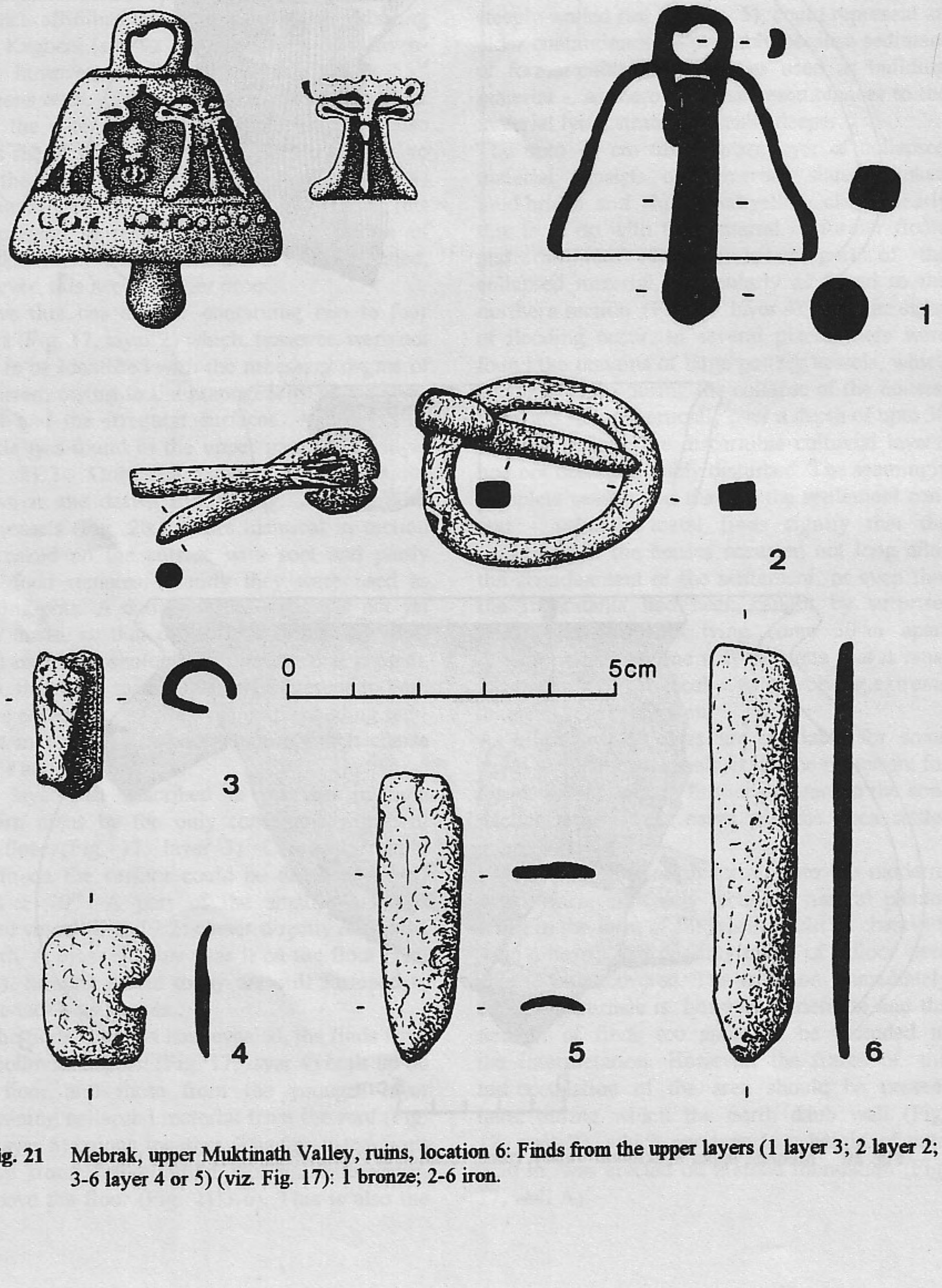


Fig. 21 **Mebrak, upper Muktinath Valley, ruins, location 6: Finds from the upper layers (1 layer 3; 2 layer 2; 3-6 layer 4 or 5) (viz. Fig. 17): 1 bronze; 2-6 iron.**

In the excavations of both building-complexes the remains of numerous walls were uncovered which do not correspond to the surface picture of a loosely-knit development (viz. Fig. 15). Because of the relatively small excavation area, it is not possible to state how large the rooms or even the houses were (Fig. 18). The stratigraphical analysis hitherto has revealed that the walls were erected during different periods, but were continually adjusted to meet the new conditions. Often the stone foundation of a later wall has been set against older walls. The 'new' daub superstructure of the older wall can then be built against the younger one. There thus results a complicated succession of constructions which upto now has not been correlated enough with the stratification within the individual areas. Examples of this may be deduced from the north section of the excavation of location 6 (Fig. 17). The section shows the massive foundation-walls from stone with the daub wall on top (Fig. 17, walls A and B) lying in the western part on the layers of collapsed material. In the centre and the eastern part they are also found above the colluvial layers. Here, however, most of the collapsed material, which has survived in the area bordering to the south, seems to have been removed prior to the building of the wall. As seen in the small walls standing vertically to the section, both of the eastern ones were erected before, the western one immediately after the construction of the northern wall (Fig. 17). Thus, it is evident that there exists a continuity in the site of the house; after the collapse of at least part of the building, the new construction (northern and western walls) incorporated the foundations of both earlier eastern walls, which were then endowed with a new coating of daub.

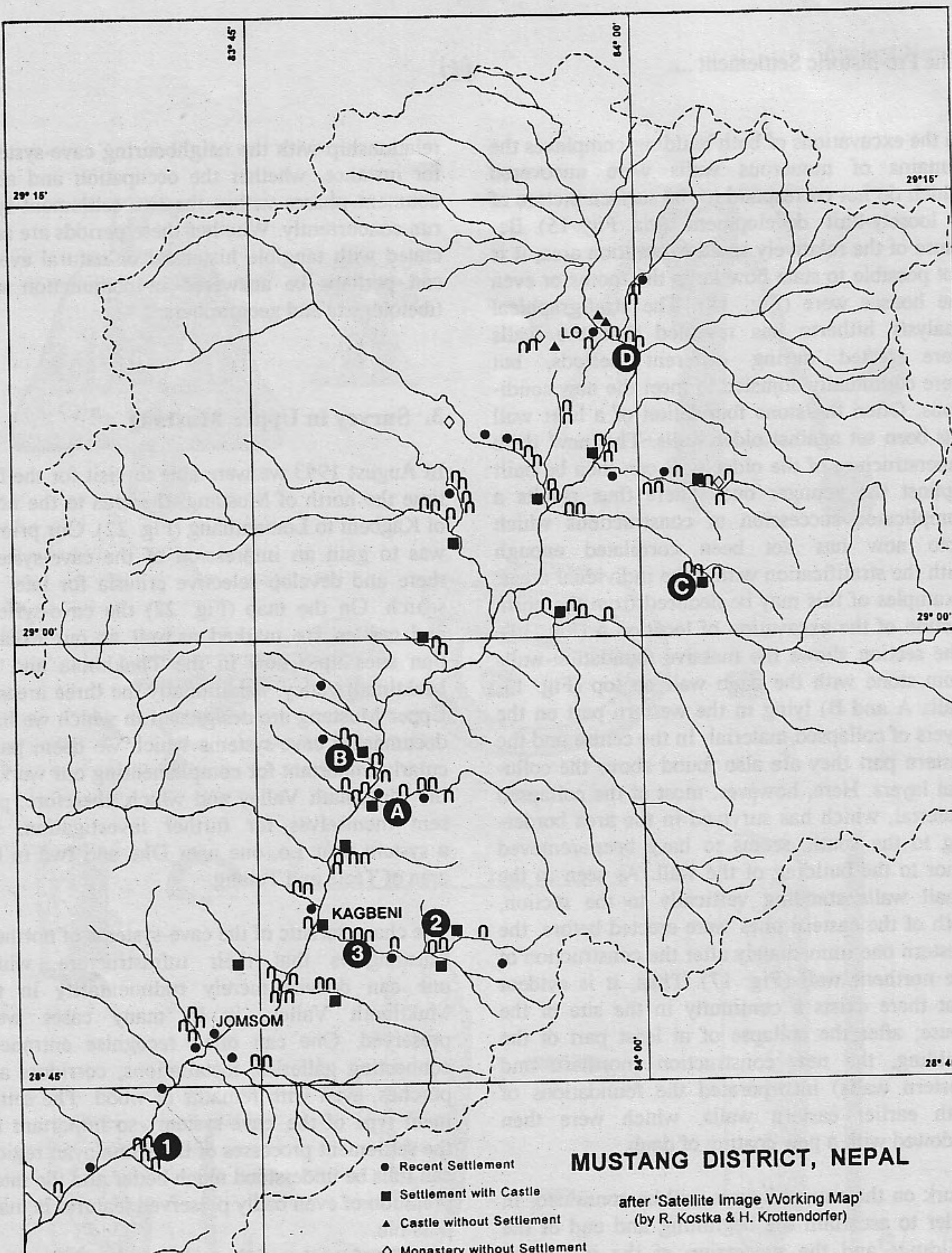
Work on the ruined houses will be continued, in order to ascertain the beginning and end of the buildings and the succession of the individual building-phases, as well as the structure of the rooms and the houses. Next year the trenches will be extended and the individual walls followed, in order to gain a more extensive impression of the structure of the former settlement. In particular, we are concerned with the question of the relationship with the neighbouring cave-systems, for instance, whether the occupation and abandonment phases within the two settlement types run concurrently. Whether these periods are associated with tangible historical or natural events, can perhaps be answered in conjunction with tibetologists and geographers.

3. Survey in Upper Mustang

In August 1993 we were able to visit for the first time the north of Mustang, the area to the north of Kagbeni to Lomanthang (Fig. 22). Our priority was to gain an impression of the cave-systems there and develop selective criteria for later research. On the map (Fig. 22) the cave-systems and castles are marked as well as our excavation sites upto now in the Thakkhola and the Muktinath valley. Additionally the three areas in Upper Mustang are designated in which we have documented cave-systems which we deem particularly important for complementing our work in the Muktinath Valley and which, therefore, present themselves for further investigation, i.e. a system near Lo, one near Dhe and two in the area of Tsele and Tetang.

The characteristic of the cave-systems of northern Mustang is that their infrastructure, which one can deduce merely rudimentarily in the Muktinath Valley, is in many cases well-preserved. One can often recognise entrances, connecting galleries, installations, corridors and porches, even with remains of wood. The settlement type of the 'cave-system', so important for the settlement processes of the Himalayan region, can thus be understood much better and the interpretation of even badly preserved features is made possible.

In way of explanation, a few examples will be shown, which are of importance for further investigations.



© Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology *WS '94*

Fig. 22 Map of Mustang District showing village sites, castles, and cave-systems. The investigated and proposed archaeological sites are marked: **1** Chokhopani; **2** Mebrak; **3** Phudzeling; **A** Chomnang /Tetang; **B** Tsele; **C** Dhe; **D** Mardzong /Lo

Exemplary cave-systems

In the valley of the Gyakar Khola, a western side-valley of the Kaligandaki, below the settlement of TSELE is situated a multipartite cave-system with two surviving stairways. As the area aroung Tetang, Chusang and Tsele seems to be so vital for the questions of tibetologists as to the early Kingdom of Serib (Jackson 1978; Schuh 1992; Ramble 1984), an investigation would seem to be of interest.

Not far east of Lomanthang is situated the castle-like cave-system of MARDZONG (= lower castle), set in a some 30m high remnant of the river-terrace (Plate 4b). Abandoned fields and ruins lie in front of it. Several storeys with remains of galleries together with beam-slots of earlier wooden porches are recognisable, as well as ruins of a tower on the plateau of the cave-system. The cave-system would warrant documenting, especially because of the surviving infrastructure.

The cave-system of DHE, in an eastern side-valley of the Kaligandaki, also displays a well-refined, well-preserved infrastructure (Plate 4a). This cave-system, significantly known as 'Dzong' (= castle), is accessible through a large number of corridors and galleries. As in the case of Mardzong, paintings survive from the latest phases. Because of its inner structure, it is planned to investigate this system in the very near future.

Cave-systems with recent occupation

To the north, lying in the next parallel valley of the Kaligandaki, a cave-system near LURI is partly used today as a religious centre (Plate 5a). The gomba signifies the entrance to a richly painted cave-chörten (Gutschow 1992-93; 1994). Thus, the access paths and bridges with wooden and stone fittings are partly preserved and are still cared for. A similar path with a stone surface on supporting beams (Plate 4b) must also have provided the access to some of the now abandoned cave-systems. There, however, it usually no longer survives, as it naturally needs continual repair. The wooden fittings in this cave-system still in use can give us an impression of how the interior of a cave-settlement looked like during occupation, when the rooms on different floors were connected with ladders and trap-doors (Plate 6,left).

An even better impression of the utilisation and function is of course given by those cave-systems which were recently still used as dwellings. Unfortunately, we were unable to see the inhabited caves from CHOSER to the north of Lo. We hope, however, to visit these soon and talk with the inhabitants. But also in MARANG, situated in a western side-valley of the Kaligandaki to the south of Lo, members of a household lived in a part of a certainly older cave-system upto six months before our arrival. Here we were able to see a further possibility of access to the individual levels of a cave-system still in operation. Supporting walls of river-boulders had been built up against the rock-wall shaped like a step pyramid, with galleries on the individual levels allowing access to the rooms (Plate 6,right; 7b). We discovered the first indications of such a feature in 1993 at the foot of the B-System in Mebrak in the Muktinath Valley.

4. Preliminary results on the early settlement of Mustang

Following our prospection, we can say that the cave-systems in the arid part of Mustang, in the north upto the Tibetan plateau, represent a widely dispersed form of settlement. They are usually to be found in conjunction with abandoned field-systems, ruined houses and even ruined fortifications, within the river oases on both banks of the Kaligandaki in the proximity of modern-day villages and their irrigated fields (Plate 7a).

The river oases are natural settlement areas ('Siedlungskammern') in which, within the

dryness of the high mountains, enough water was and still is present upon which to survive (Fig. 22). The settlement areas are geomorphologically similar to one another. The cave-systems have been dug into the eroded precipitous walls of the glacial terraces. Beneath them, on the gravel-beds of the tributaries of the Kaligandaki, lie the field-terraces and the recent settlements. Castles, as well as deserted settlements and fields, are often found at the edge of the cultivated areas, either immediately next to the cave-systems or slightly removed on the hill-summits (Fig. 22).

The cave-systems represent a settlement type which keep the neighbouring fields free for cultivation and not restricted by development. This could be one reason for their construction[16]. Moreover, the complicated cave-systems represent a suitable form of settlement in this arid high mountainous environment, providing optimal protection against strong winds and the extreme fluctuations in temperature. The villages, too, i.e. the open settlements from earlier (Simons et al. 1994, 54 and Fig. 15; Hüttel 1993, 4 and Fig. 9-10) and modern times (Fürer-Haimendorf 1975, 160f.; Pohle 1993, 68), have been erected in a coherent construction from multi-storeyed houses placed one next to another, reminding one of cave-systems[17]. Therefore we think that the cave-systems and the open village sites of this type in Mustang represent the same concept of settlement.

Furthermore, it is evident that the cave-systems served, at least periodically, as places of refuge and as secure places for storing provisions. The ruined towers, often found on the plateaux above the cave-systems or in their proximity, are probably the remains of watch-towers[18]. Moreover, already in prehistoric times, settlements existed on the terraces in front of the caves, which were contemporaneous. Following an initial analysis of the available ^{14}C- and dendrochronologial dates, it would seem that for example in Mebrak, in the Upper Muktinath Valley, the cave-system was abandoned around the middle or the end of the 16th century at about the same time as the open settlement in front of it (see above). Around that time the castles in Dzong (Jhong) and Dzar (Jharkot) were built (Schmidt 1992/93, Fig. 5 and 8) and the population shortly after evidently shifted to the present village sites probably forced by political reasons. Whether a similar shift of settlement is true also for other parts of Mustang is still to be investigated.

Notes

1 We wish to thank warmly all members of HMG Department of Archaeology, especially the Director General, Mr. Kadgaman Shrestha, and the Chief Archaeologist, Mr. Tara Nanda Mishra, for their support of our work. Our warmest thanks are due to the officials and friends in Mustang District , without whose help the investigations could not have been carried out; we should like to mention in particular the members of the village council of Dzong, as well as Mr. Bahkti of Marpha and Mr. Nirmal Gauchan of Jomsom. Moreover, indispensable for the examination of the caves were the spelaeologists H. Daniel Gebauer and his assistant Georg Bäumler. Not only did they secure for us under extreme conditions access to the caves installing ropes, but were also responsible for surveying them. Our thanks go also to the students of the Institute of Pre- and Protohistory in Cologne, Ina Lochner, Frank Löbbecke and Andrea Schroeder, who took part in the excavations with great enthusiasm. Last, but not least, we want to thank Dr. Clive J. Bridger who translated our German manuscript and Stephanie Laub, Birgit Gehlen, and Daniel Gebauer who carried out the illustrations.

2 HD-15059: BP 2575±19. All data were calibrated by Dr. Bernhard Weninger, Cologne University, through the 2-D Dispersion Calibration Program Version Cologne April 1993, FORTRAN 77 , HPGL, PC486. Radiocarbon calibration data: Stuiver et al., Radiocarbon 32, 1993; calibration methods: B. Weninger, in Acta Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica IV, Nitra 1986, 11-53; cubic spline by W. Press, B. Flannery, S. Teukolsky, W. Vetterling, Numerical

Recipes, Cambridge University Press 1986, 86-89.

3 KN-4561: BP 2604 ± 37. All radiocarbon measurements were carried out by Dr. B. Weninger and his assistants in the ^{14}C-laboratory of the Institute of Pre- and Protohistory in Cologne.

4 KN-4563: BP 2542 ± 40. According to Dr. Weninger this date is statistically contemporary with HD-15059 (BP 2575 ± 19). The high ± value in the calibrated date results from the almost horizontal position of the calibration curve in this area.

5 The examination of the human remains were carried out by Babette Ludovici M.A. and Prof.Dr. Manfred Kunter, Gießen, who will soon be publishing their own report.

6 The energy dispersive X-ray analysis (EDAX) was carried out by Kurt Hangst Dipl.Min., Cologne. The remaining elements consist of calcium and chlorine, which result from deposition in the soil.

7 KN 4562: BP 1459 ± 41. A ^{13}C-correction has been carried out.

8 KN-4566: BP 346 ± 38.

9 The dendrochronological analysis was carried out by Dr. B. Schmidt, Cologne. This specimen of wood comprises only 44 tree rings but the outer parts reach up to the bark so that the youngest tree ring corresponds to the year of felling of the tree. Trees of an age upto 50 years cannot be dated with the necessary statistical accuracy. How ever, the tree ring pattern of this sample shows such a high significance with the year of 1540 that this should give the correct dating (B. Schmidt, pers.com.). For reference see also Schmidt 1992-93.

10 Abandoned cave-chambers are regularly occupied by jackdaws and crows, and even by vultures, being secure nesting places.

11 It is not impossible that remains of an earlier settlement prior to the laying of the first floor had been removed, i.e. that the settlement traces from these occupation levels are not able to date precisely the creation of the cave-chamber location 42. They purely provide a terminus ante quem.

12 KN-4570: BP 798 ± 54.

13 KN-4565: BP 1087 ± 46.

14 HD-15087: BP 2222 ± 24.

15 KN-4564: BP 393 ± 38.

16 Parallels are to be found in other arid regions, such as the cave-dwellings of the Sinagua Indians in the Arizona Desert.

17 A good example is Tetang in Upper Mustang, where upto five storeys are constructed. Beneath the housing complex, almost lightless corridors provide access to the individual buildings.

18 Examples are in the lower Muktinath Valley Phudzeling (Simons et al. 1994, 54 with Fig. 17), in the upper Muktinath Valley Mebrak and in Upper Mustang "Mardzong". For watch-towers, viz. Seeber 1994.

References

FÜRER-HAIMENDORF, C. v. (1975) Himalayan Traders. Life in Highland Nepal. London 1975.

GUTSCHOW, N. (1992-93) Chörten in Mustang. Ancient Nepal 130-133, 1992-93, 59-62.

GUTSCHOW, N. (1994) The chörten at Luri. Ancient Nepal 136, 1994, 147-161.

HAFFNER, W. and P. POHLE (1993) Settlement processes and the formation of states in the High Himalayas characterized by Tibetan culture and tradition. Ancient Nepal 134, 1993, 42-56.

HÜTTEL, H.-G. (1993) Excavation at Khingar Mound 1991. Ancient Nepal 134, 1993, 1-17.

JACKSON, D.P. (1978) Notes on the history of Se-rib and near-by places in the upper Kaligandaki Valley. Kailash 6, 1978, 195-228.

JACKSON, D.P. (1984) The Mollas of Mustang. Historical, religious and oratorical traditions of the Nepalese-Tibetan borderland. Dharamsala 1984.

KOSTKA, R. (1993) Cartographic Activities in the Mustang District. Ancient Nepal 134, 1993, 83-88.

MISHRA, T.N. (1994) The archaeological research in the high mountains of Mustang District. Ancient Nepal 136, 1994, 147-161.

POHLE, P. (1993) Geographical research on the cultural landscape of Southern Mustang. Ancient Nepal 134, 1993, 57-81.

RAMBLE, C. (1984) The Lamas of Lubra: Tibetan Bonpo Housholder Priests in Western Nepal. Unpubl. Ph.D. Thesis Oxford 1984.

SCHMIDT, B. (1992-93) Dendrochronological Research in South Mustang. Ancient Nepal 130-133, 1992-93, 20-33.

SCHÖN, W. and A. SIMONS (1993) Siedlungsarchäologie im Himalaja. Das Nepal-Projekt am Kölner Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte. Archäologische Informationen 16/2, 1993, 253-260.

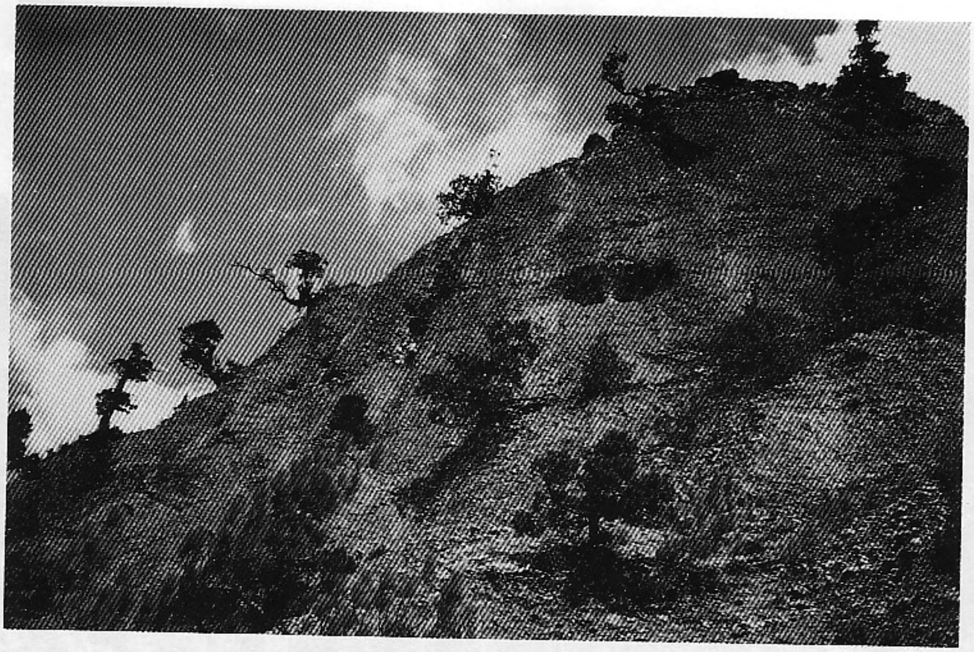
SCHUH, D. (1992) Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des südlichen Mustang. Typescript Bonn 1992, 115 p.

SEEBER, C.G. (1994) Reflections on the existence of castles and observation towers in the area under investigation, the South Mustang. Ancient Nepal 136, 1994, 81-87.

SIMONS, A. (1992-93) Trial excavation of a cave system in Muktinath Valley. Preliminary studies in the settlement archaeology of the high mountain region of Mustang District (West Nepal). Ancient Nepal 130-133, 1992-93, 1-19.

SIMONS et al. (1994): SIMONS, A., SCHÖN, W. and S.S. SHRESTHA (1994) Preliminary report on the 1992 campaign of the Institute of Prehistory of the University of Cologne. Ancient Nepal 136, 1994, 51-75.

TIWARI, D.N. (1985) Cave burials from Western Nepal, Mustang. Ancient Nepal 85, 1984-85, 1-12.



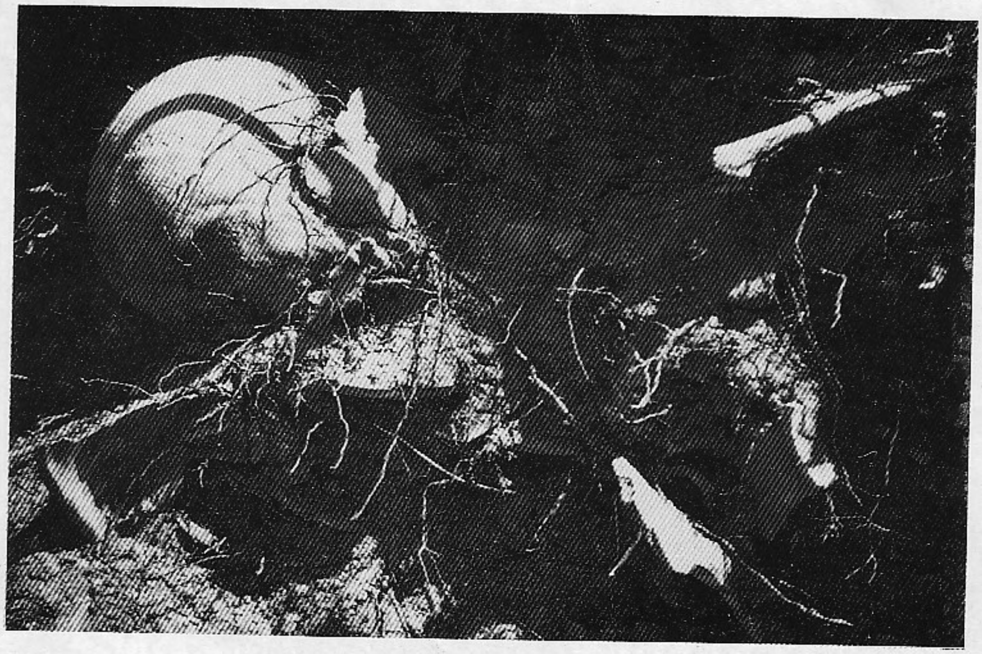


Plate 1 Chokhopani, South face.
above: The site with archaeologists working on cave remains, while hanging from ropes.
below: Human skull, long bones and a crushed pottery vessel uncovered in the rock face.

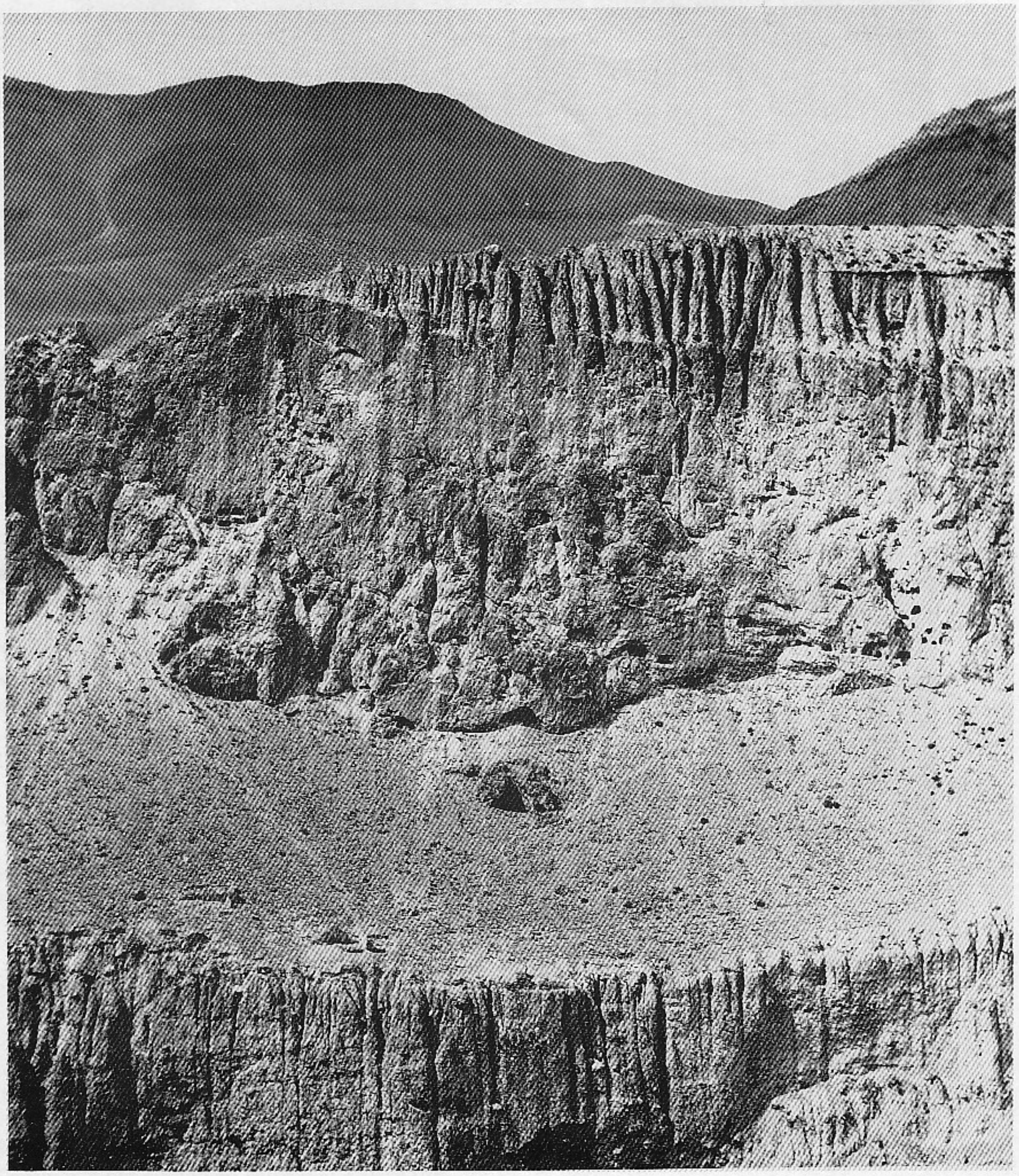


Plate 2 Site of Mebrak in the upper Muktinath Valley. Remains of ruin site at edge of river-terrace; several cave-systems cut into the rockface.

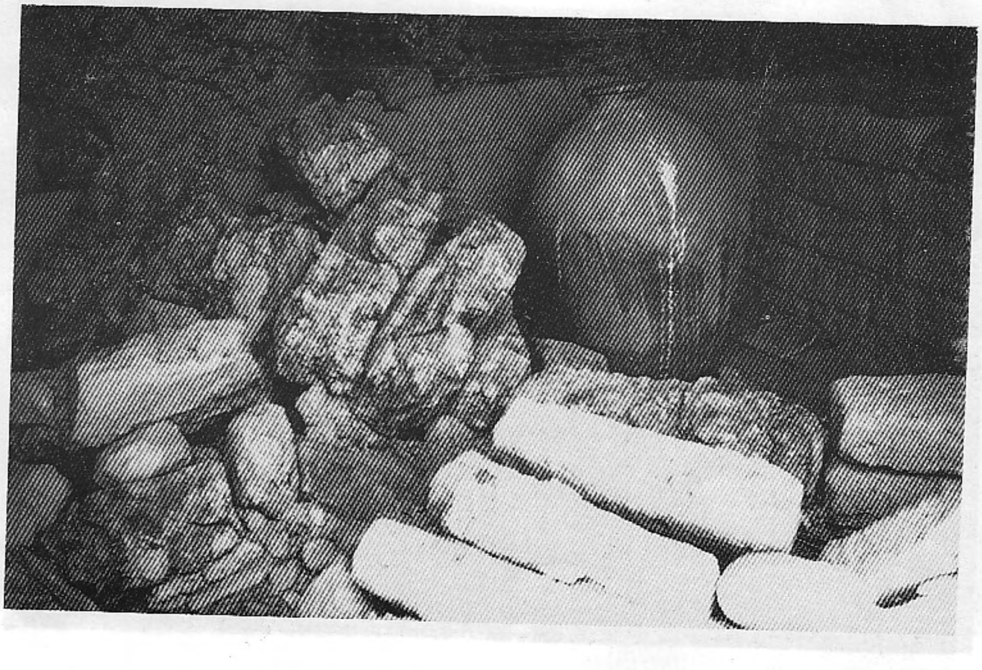
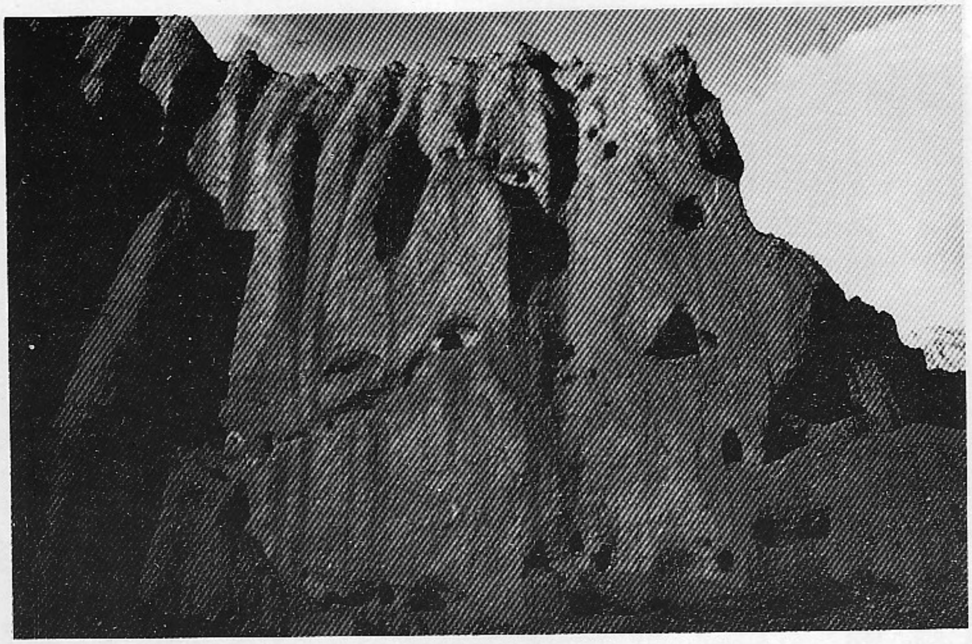


Plate 3 Mebrak. B-System, fifth storey, cave-room location 40.
above: View to south-east towards river Dzong and village of Jharkot.
below: Cave-room before investigation with collapsed mudbrickwalls.



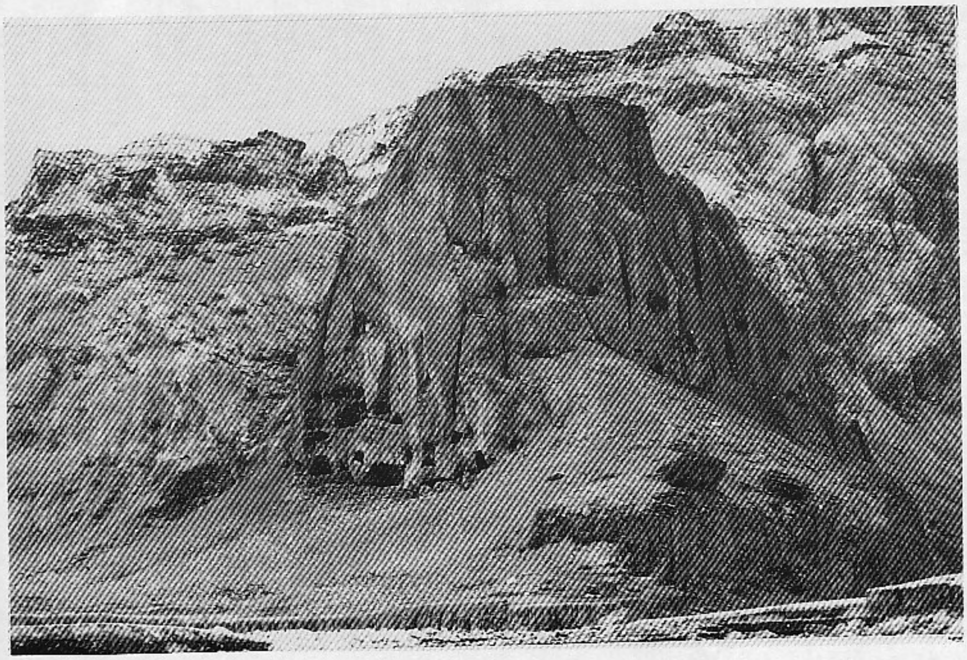


Plate 4 Cave-systems of Upper Mustang with well-preserved infrastructure.
above: Cave-system "Dzong" at Dhe.
below: Cave-system "Mardzong" east of Lomanthang.

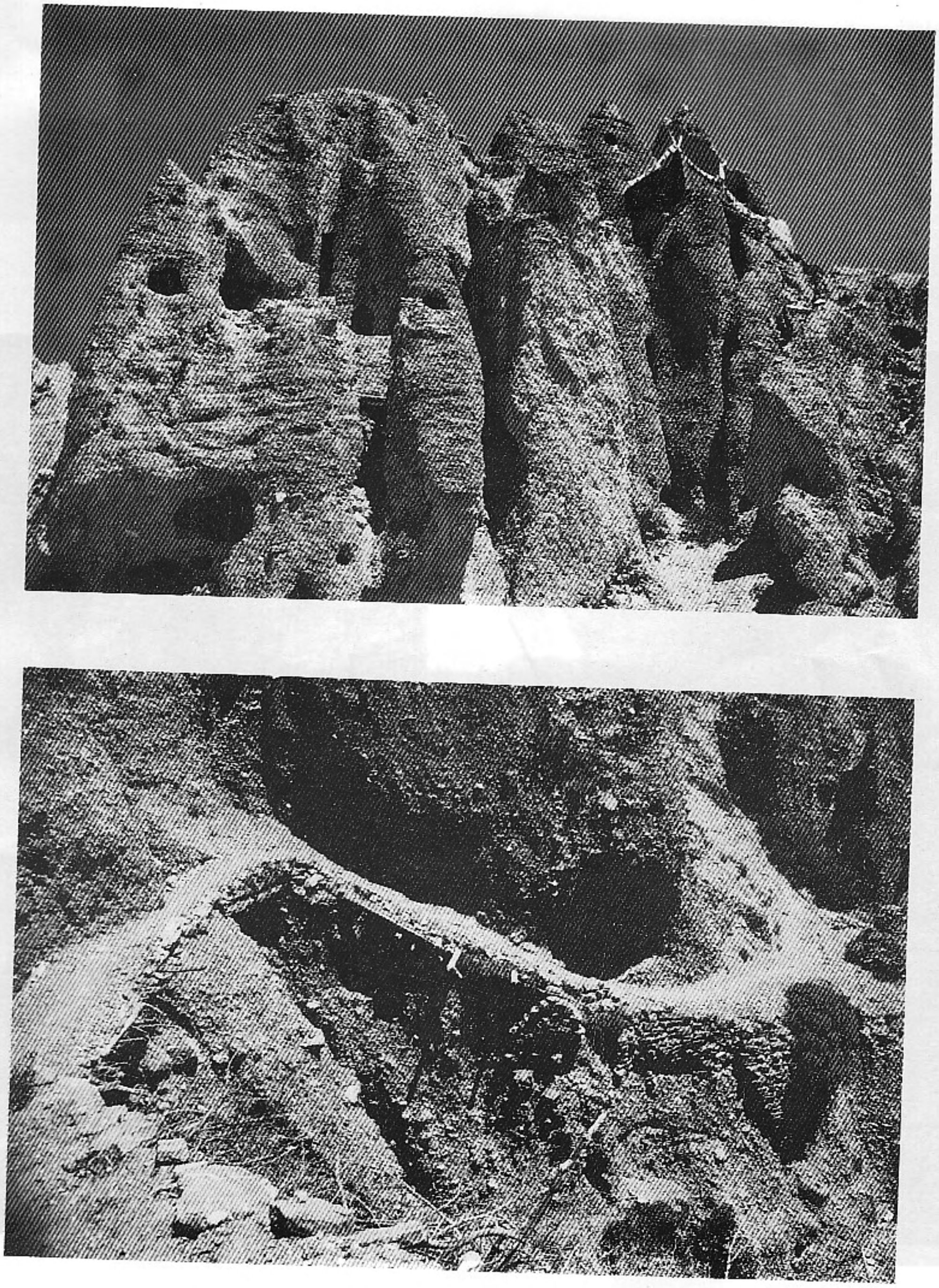
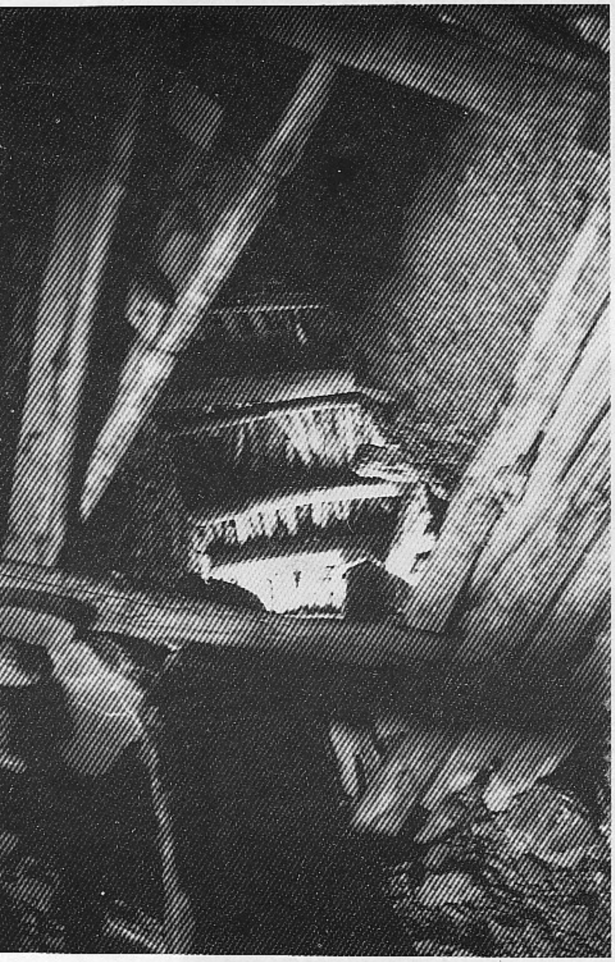


Plate 5 Cave-system of Luri in Upper Mustang with gomba.
above: View from south-west.
below: Beam-supported path leading up to the gomba.



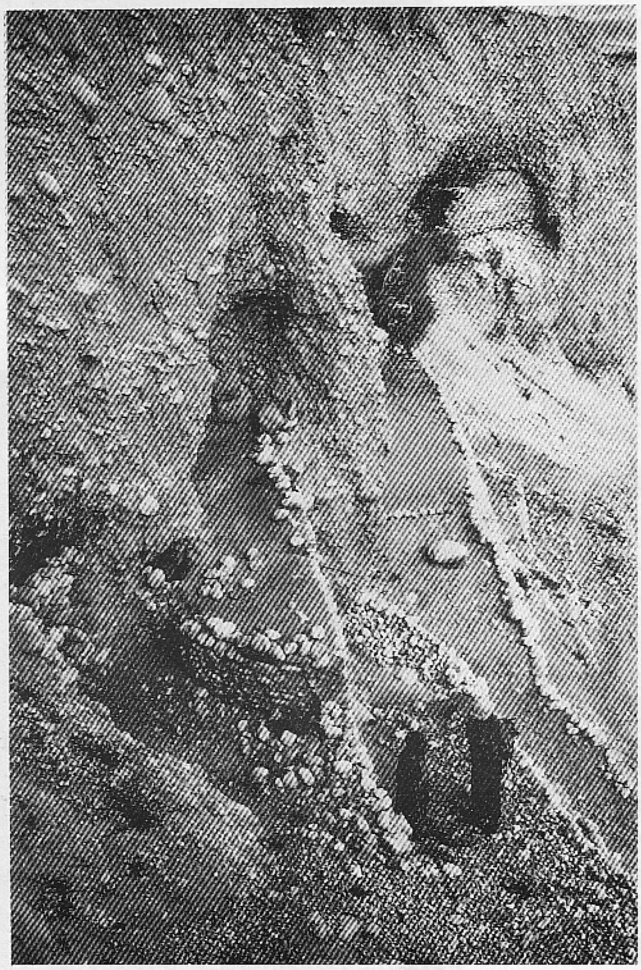


Plate 6 Cave Systems in Upper Mustang.
left: Cave-system of Luri in Upper Mustang: wooden structures with ladder in the interior.
right: Recently abandoned cave-system of Marang in Upper Mustang with artificial terraces leading to different floors.

Plate 7 Marang in Upper Mustang.
above: Natural settlement area ("Siedlungskammer") of Marang /Tsarang in Upper Mustang.
below: Recently abandoned cave-system of Marang.

About the Authors

Mr. Khadga Man Shrestha	Director General, Department of Archaeology Chief Editor, Ancient Nepal
Dr. D. Schuh	Professor, University of Bonn Director of Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology
Dr. A. Simons	Archaeologist, University of Cologne Member of Nepal-German Project on High Mountain Archaeology
Dr. W. Schon	Archaelogist, University of Cologne
Mr. Sukra Sagar Shrestha	Archaelogist, Department of Archaelogy

का. मे. अ. द. नं. ८१६८ हु. द. स. बा. अ. नं. २०२३

"प्राचीन नेपाल" का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनुपर्दछ। तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिनेछ।

रचनासँग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरु पठाउन सकिनेछ। रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनुपर्नेछ। प्रकाशित लेखहरुमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्त्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contributions of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraph manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of our work are invited to 'Ancient Nepal'.

The contributions should be concise and well–documented, and based on hitherto unpublished data, if not new interpretation of already known evidence.

The opinions expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the editor or the Department of Archaeology.

Photographs and illustrations (line drawings) may be sent. The typescripts should be in double space and on one side of the paper only and sent to:

The Director General
Department of Archaeology
Ramshahpath
Kathmandu, Nepal.